W. Drummond Hay
1835

See Preface by Hamaker to his "Specimen Catalogi Codicum MSS. Orientalium" — printed at Leyden in 1820 — on the disputed authenticity of Ockley's account of the Occupation of Syria by the Mohammedans founded mainly on the writings of Al Wakidi, — in favor which acts on Gibbon & Le Beau but Reiske Koehler "eundem, ut mendacem et "fabulosum, summo contentu "ejecerunt."

W. W. D. D.

THE HISTORY OF THE *SARACENS*:

CONTAINING

The Lives of *Abubeker*, *Omar*, *Othman*, *Ali*, *Hlasan*, *Moawiyah* I. *Yezid* I. *Moawiyah* II. *Abdolla*, *Merwan* I. and *Abdolmelick*, the immediate Successors of *MAHOMET*.

GIVING

An ACCOUNT of their most remarkable Battles, Sieges, *&c.* particularly those of *Aleppo*, *Antioch*, *Damascus*, *Alexandria* and *Jerusalem*.

ILLUSTRATING

The Religion, Rites, Customs and Manner of Living of that Warlike People.

Collected from the most Authentick *Arabick* Authors, especially Manuscripts, not hitherto publish'd in any European Language.

By *SIMON OCKLEY*, M. A. Vicar of *Swavesey*, in *Cambridgeshire*.

VOLUME *the* FIRST.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON, Printed for *R. Knaplock* in St. *Paul's Churchyard*, *J. Sprint* in *Little Britain*, *R. Smith* in *Cornhill*, *B. Lintott* in *Fleetstreet*, and *J. Round* in *Exchange-Alley*. 1718.

To the Reverend

Dr. *Henry Aldrich*,

Dean of *Christ-Church* in *OXFORD*.

SIR,

IT would have been a great Breach of Good Manners, and a Want of Gratitude in me, not to have return'd this little Book to that Place, whence it took its Rise and Original, I mean *Ox-*

ford, to which we owe that Incomparable Archbiſhop *Laud*, whoſe great Bounty and Munificence has furniſh'd the *Bodleian* Library with a vaſt Number of the Beſt *Oriental* Authors, particularly thoſe I have made uſe of in this Work: To which we owe ſo many learned and eminent Promoters of Eaſtern Learning, and above all the admirable Dr. *Pocock*, to whoſe Labours how much we are indebted, no Tongue can ſufficiently expreſs. Since therefore, upon theſe Accounts, I could do no leſs than ſend it to Your Famous *Univerſity*; To whoſe Hands ſhould I commit it rather than to Yours, Sir, whoſe Dignity, Learning, and Courteſy to all Men, eſpecially Strangers and Scholars, entitle you juſtly to the utmoſt Reſpect and Eſteem.

I had no ſmall Reaſon to hope, Sir, that this Attempt of mine would not be unacceptable to you, from what I heard you ſay, when I was vouchſafed the Honour of your Converſation, about the deplorable Defects in our late Accounts of the *Oriental* Affairs: And what great Pity it was, that the World ſhould be content with Trifling Legendary Relations, and live upon the Gleanings of *Paulus Venetus*, *Jacobus à Vitriaco*, *Poſtellus*, &c. When there is Plenty of Noble and Valuable Authors in our *Repoſitories* of Learning.

It would indeed be matter of Joy to the *Curious*, to ſee *Albochâri*, *Ebn Chalecân*, *Meidáni Tabari*, *Mircond*, and other Renown'd *Eaſtern* Writers, correctly printed,

and take their Places in the Studies of the Learned. It would give an inexpressible Delight to Persons of your comprehensive Genius, to be better inform'd of the *Circassian Mamalukes*, *Jenkîz Kaan*, *Hulácu* and *Tamerlane*, nay even of the *Holy War* it self, in which our *European* Princes were so much concern'd. And I perswade my self, it could not but be a mighty Satisfaction to a Christian Divine, to have the most eminent of the Eastern *Jews* (who have written in *Arabick*) publish'd in a more fashionable and intelligible Language; to peruse the Liturgies of these Parts of the World, and to be acquainted with the Rites and Customs of the Christians there; not only the Orthodox, but the *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, &c. And it would be agreeable enough to observe,

ſerve, that, notwithſtanding their Difference among themſelves, they all concur unanimouſly to condemn our Schiſmaticks.

But I forbear to trouble you, Sir, with a further Enlargement upon theſe Heads; who know theſe Matters too well to ſtand in need of any Information, and upon all Occaſions ſhew your Readineſs to encourage ſuch noble Deſigns. And I ſhall only crave leave to add, That I have preſum'd to preſent you with this Piece of my Labours, as a Token of my ſincere Reſpect for you; there being no need of an Apology to you, for the Imperfections in this Performance, who are known to be a Perſon of ſuch a generous Spirit, that in a thing that is well intended, however un-artfully mana-

ged, your Sagacity is not more quick in diſcovering a Fault, than your Candour is ready to excuſe it.

I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

Swaveſey, *Auguſt* 16, 1708.

SIMON OCKLEY.

PREFACE.

THE ARABIANS, *a People as little taken Notice of by the Greek and Roman Authors, as could well be ſuppos'd, conſidering their Nearneſs and the Extent of their Country, have, ſince the time of* Mahomet, *rendred themſelves ſo very conſiderable, both by their Arms and Learning, that the underſtanding their Affairs ſeems no leſs, if not more neceſſary than the being acquainted with the Hiſtory of any People whatſoever, who have flouriſh'd ſince the Declenſion of the Roman Empire: Not only becauſe they have had as great Men, and perform'd as conſiderable Actions, as any other Nation under Heaven; but, what is of more Concern to us Chriſtians, becauſe they were the firſt Ruin of the Eaſtern Church.*

It might reaſonably have been expected, that the Greeks, who bore the greateſt ſhare of that grievous Calamity, and whoſe Vices and Diviſions, 'tis to be fear'd, brought it upon the Chriſtian World, ſhould have taken particular

Care

*Care to have given a just Account of it. Whereas, on the contrary, they have been as jejune and sparing in this Particular, as any tolerable Historian could have been suppos'd, relating Matters at a much greater distance. Not to enumerate a Catalogue of their Defects, I shall content my self with producing the Words of an * ingenious Author, who was very well aware of the Imperfections of the Greeks with relation to this History, and fully expresses the true Sense of that Matter in these Words:* This (*says he*) in Substance is the Account of those Wars, and the Beginning of the Saracenical Empire, left us by the Grecian Writers of that Age, who are justly to be accus'd for their Succinctness and Obscurity, in a Subject that deserv'd to be more copiously handled; for undoubtedly it must needs have been various as well as surprizing in its Circumstances, containing no less than the subduing whole Nations, altering ancient Governments, and introducing a new Face of Affairs in the World. *There is nothing more just than this Observation, and what lame Accounts must we then expect from those who compile Histories of the* Saracens *out of the* Byzantine Historians?

*Continuation of *Echard*'s Roman History, Vol. 4. p. 304. at the Year of our Lord 637.

I was no ſooner convinc'd of this, but having, by the Study of their Language, fitted my ſelf in ſome Meaſure for the Reading their Authors, I had a great Deſire to attempt the communicating ſome Part of this hitherto unknown Hiſtory to the World; being equally affected with Wonder and Concern, that, conſidering the Multitude of Learned Men which the laſt Age produc'd, it ſhould have been ſo long neglected. But I conceive the Reaſon of that to have been, becauſe thoſe very few who were Maſters of the Arabick Learning have been otherwiſe employ'd, and ſpent their Time in paving the way for Poſterity, by publiſhing ſuch Books as were abſolutely Neceſſary in order to the attaining a Competent Skill in that Difficult Language: Others, who have not been ſufficiently acquainted with that Nation, having entertain'd too mean Opinion of them, looking upon them as meer Barbarians; which miſtaken Notion of theirs, has hinder'd all further Enquiry concerning them.

As for thoſe Great Men who firſt reſtor'd that learned, copious and elegant Language in this laſt Age to us Europeans; I mean Erpenius, Giggeius, Golius, Sionita, *and our incomparable*

Dr.

Dr. Pocock; *it is not to be expreſs'd how much we are indebted to them for their Learned Labours, without which the Arabick Tongue would ſtill have been inacceſſible to us. But ſince there are other Perſons of a quite different Taſte, who, for want of due Information, have conceiv'd a wrong Opinion of the* Arabians: *it will not be amiſs, before we give a particular Account of our preſent Undertaking, to ſpeak ſomething concerning that People.*

Before Mahomet's *time they were Idolaters. They were always a Warlike People, ſeldom being at Peace either with one another or their Neighbours. They were divided into two ſorts; ſome of them living in Towns and Villages, others having no fix'd, ſettled Habitations, liv'd in Tents, and remov'd from one part of the Country to another, according as their Neceſſities compell'd, or Conveniencies invited them. Their chief Excellency conſiſted in Breeding and Managing Horſes, and the Uſe of Bows, Swords and Lances: Their Learning lay wholly in their Poetry, to which their Genius did chiefly incline them.* MAHOMET *and his Succeſſors ſoon rooted out Idolatry, and united thoſe jarring Tribes in the Profeſſion*

fession of that new Superstition, which he pretended to have receiv'd by Inspiration from God, deliver'd to him immediately by the Angel Gabriel.

For about 200 *Years, little else was minded but War, except what concern'd the Interpretation of the* Alcoran, *and the Sects and Divisions among themselves upon that Account, which daily multiplied and increas'd upon them: But there was, as yet, no Curiosity of enquiring into Foreign Learning, nor desire of being acquainted with the Arts and Sciences. At last, in* Almamôun's *Reign, who was the twenty seventh after* Mahomet, *and was inaugurated* Caliph *in the** 198*th Year of the* Hegjrah, *Learning began to be cultivated to a very great Degree, Mathematicks especially and Astronomy: And in order to promote it, that Noble* Caliph *spar'd no cost, either to procure such Greek Books as were serviceable to that Purpose, or to encourage Learned Men to the Study of them. Nor did the Sagacity and Application of that ingenious penetrating People in the least disappoint the Designs of their munificent Benefactor; their Progress in Learning, after they had once enter'd upon it, seeming no less wonderful than that of their*

*A D. 813.

their Conquests; for in a few Years time they had plenty of Translations out of Greek, not only Mathematicians and Astronomers, but Philosophers, Botanists, and Physicians. Which Love of Learning was not confin'd to the Eastern Parts, but diffus'd throughout the whole Dominions of the Saracens, *being first carried into* Africa, *(where they erected a great many Universities) and from thence into* Spain: *so that when Learning was quite lost in these Western Parts, it was restor'd by the Moors, to whom what Philosophy was understood by the Christians was owing. Greek not being understood in this Part of the World till the taking of* Constantinople *by the* Turks, *which was in the Year of our Lord* 1453. *At which time several Learned Greeks escaping with their Libraries, and coming Westward, that Language was restor'd: Our former Philosophers and Schoolmen having contented themselves with Latin Translations, not only of* Averroes, Alpharabius *and* Algazâli, *and other Mahometan Authors, but also of* Aristotle *and other Philosophers, which Translations of Greek Authors were not made out of the Original Greek, but out of the Arabick Versions which were immediately translated from the Greek.*

Had they, after having taking the Pains to learn the Greek Tongue, with equal Care applied themselves to the Historians, as they did to the Philosophers; and studied Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, *and such other Masters of correct Writing as that Language could have afforded them; we might have expected from them a Succession of Historians worthy to write those great Actions which have been perform'd among them. But they never turn'd their Thoughts that way, studying Greek only for the sake of the Sciences, and not valuing either that or any other Language in respect of their own. Which tho' it must be granted, is extreamly fine and copious, so as to afford Words sufficient to treat handsomly upon any Subject whatsoever, is not sufficient of it self, any more than any other Language, to make a Man an Author. There being a manifest Difference between Language and Stile, insomuch that a Man may write in the best Language in the World, and use the most proper and significant Words in that Language, and at the same time not be fit to be read. For besides Propriety of Expression, there must a Justness and Exactness (not only with respect to the Choice of Materials, but to the Composition) shine through the whole,*

which

which is not to be attain'd without being well acquainted with such Authors as are excellent that way.

The great Esteem which I have for the Eastern Learning, makes me heartily wish that we had not too much cause to complain of our Arabick Historians, as to this Particular; who for the aforesaid Reason have depriv'd us of a great deal of the Pleasure, and sometimes Profit, which we might otherwise have expected from the reading them; They not having regard to the due Qualifications of an Historian, but telling things after a careless manner, and stuffing their Works with a great many trifling Materials, at other times jingling upon Words, and to shew the Copiousness of their Language, and Variety of Expression, spinning out a slender Matter of Fact into a long Story. So that it is a Work of Difficulty to follow or compile these Authors, which nevertheless deserves very well to be undertaken, and will abundantly recompence the Pains, at least of the Reader.

For in these Authors is contain'd an Account of all the most remarkable Actions done in the East and other Parts for above 1000 *Years. During which space of Time* Asia *and* Africa *have been the*

Scene

Scene of as great Performances as ever they were in the Time of the Roman Empire, to which that of the Saracens was, in many respects, equal. And certainly it is a great deal of Pity, that we have not these things more enquir'd into, especially since they may be so easily come at. Were our Ignorance invincible, it would be excusable, but since so many Noble Benefactors have furnish'd us with such Variety of excellent Authors in this Kind, why should we starve our selves in the midst of Plenty?

It were most heartily to be wish'd, that we had a Compleat History of the Affairs of the East, especially to the Fall of the Saracenical Empire. It would be very well worth observing, how Learning first came in, grew and increas'd among the Saracens; *and what Great Men they have had among them; all which would be very well comprehended in a History of the* Caliphs *or Successors of* Mahomet, *of which I here present the Reader with a* Specimen.

I ought indeed to have begun with the Life of Mahomet, *but that is already written by the Reverend and Learned Dr.* Prideaux, *now Dean of* Norwich; *in which Life, besides what does immediately concern* Mahomet's *Person,*

there are interſpers'd other things Neceſſary to be known (by any Perſon that is deſirous to be acquainted with the Hiſtory of the Eaſt) which I have not repeated in my Book, but ſuppos'd to be already known to the Reader: Proceeding to write the Lives of the three immediate Succeſſors of Mahomet, *in which the Reader will plainly ſee by what Steps, and from how ſmall Beginnings, that once contemptible People roſe to ſuch a formidable Greatneſs.*

In order to proſecute my Deſign, after I had made ſuch a Draught out of Elmakin, Abu'lpharagius *and* Eutychius, *as the Scantneſs of my Materials would afford, I was oblig'd to go to the* Bodleian *Library, which is without queſtion, the beſt furniſh'd with Oriental Manuſcripts of any in* Europe. *For beſides a great Number of the beſt Authors purchas'd by the Univerſity of* Oxford, *out of the Studies of Dr.* Hyde, *Dr.* Huntington, *and Dr.* Pocock, *not to mention Mr.* Samuel Clark's, Gravius's *or* Selden's, *there is an invaluable Collection given by that incomparable Prelate and Martyr of Bleſſed Memory, Arch-biſhop* Laud; *of whoſe great Virtues it would be ſuperfluous to ſay any thing here, they being ſo well known*

and

and admir'd by all that know how to set a just Value upon Learning and Piety.

But his princely Munificence in being at that prodigious Expence to restore Oriental Learning in these Northern Climates, both by purchasing such an excellent Collection of Authors in that kind, and encouraging Men of Abilities to apply themselves that way, cannot, without the greatest Ingratitude, be pass'd by in Silence, by any one that has any due Regard to Oriental Learning. It was among the Manuscripts of that Reverend Prelate that I found the * *best Copy of that Author, which I have here endeavour'd to make speak English, and of whom I am now going to give an Account.*

* MSS. Laud *Num. A.* 118.

His Name is Abu Abdo'llah Mohammed Ebn Omar Alwákidi. *At what time he liv'd I have not yet found any Information, nor could I, by the diligent Reading of him, make any Observation by which I could give a probable Guess. Perhaps the publishing an Author without giving an Account of his Age, may seem to some Readers to require an Apology; but I would desire such to consider, that the Case is not the same in these Studies as it is in* Greek *and* Latin: *In which there is such Plenty of excellent*

Editions of most Authors easy to be come at; and such Numbers of Criticks, Dictionaries, Chronologers and copious Indexes; that a Man (tho' no great Scholar) that does but know how to make use of a Book when he has it, may be almost sure of finding what he looks for. But, alas! the Case is vastly different here; we have but just as it were learn'd the Alphabet, and if we will know almost any thing further than the Rudimenis of the Language, we must look for it in dusty Manuscripts, without Translation, without Index; destitute altogether of those Helps which facilitate other Studies.

However, tho' I cannot precisely fix his Age, it is most certain that he liv'd above two hundred Years after the Matter of Fact which he relates. For Page 313. *he mentions* Almotásem *the* Caliph, *whose Reign began in the Year of our Lord* 833. *and if so, 'tis the same thing as if he had liv'd six hundred Years after. For that Author that lives* 1000 *Years after any Matter of Fact, is as much a Witness of it, as he that lives but at* 200 *Years Distance. They are both of them oblig'd take upon Trust, and if there be no Loss of good Authors during that Interval; he that*

writes

writes lateſt is as credible an Hiſtorian as the firſt.

Beſides, the Particulars relating to the firſt riſe of Kingdoms and Empires are generally obſcure. The Reaſon of which is, becauſe Arms take Place firſt, and a Government muſt be well eſtabliſh'd, before Learning can get room to breath in. Wherefore in theſe Caſes, it is allow'd by all, that thoſe Accounts which have been handed down from time to time, and received by the beſt Judges, ought to be look'd upon as Authentick; nor was there ever any Perſon yet that enquir'd after the Age of Livy, *in order to know how far he might be accounted a competent Relater of what was done in the Reigns of* Romulus *and* Numa Pompilius.

In theſe Caſes it is, as that excellent Author very well obſerves, Famæ rerum ſtandum eſt, ubi certam derogat vetuſtas fidem. *When a long Interval of time has ſet things at too great a Diſtance, we muſt be content with the current Report, and reſt ſatisfied with the beſt Account we can get. However, that Author conſults his own Reputation, and his Readers' Satisfaction moſt, who does not without Diſtinction ſet down every thing he meets with, but uſes as much Caution as the Circumſtances of the Matter will*

admit. Our Author Alwákidi *has not been wanting in this Particular. Sometimes he ushers in a Story after this manner,* I have been inform'd by a credible Person. *In another Place he says,* "We "are inform'd by *Moses Ebn Asem,* who "had it from *Jonas Ebn Abdo'llah,* who "had it from his Grand-Father *Abdo'r-"rahmân Ebn Aslam Arrábii,* who was "in the Wars of *Syria.* * *In that Place where he gives an Account of* Derâr *and some others, who were put into Chests at* Arrestân, *he says,* "I was inform'd by "*Ahmed Almatin Aljorhami,* who had *it* "from *Rephâa Ebn Kais Alámiri,* who "had it from *Saiph Ebn Jabalah Alchát-"gami,* who had it from *Thabet Ebn Al-"kamah,* who said he was present at the Action. *These Expressions, (not to insinuate that they may afford a Hint to guess at the Age of the Author) are most evident Proofs that he was as careful as he could, neither to be impos'd upon himself, nor to deceive his Reader. And tho' there are a great many such like Expressions dispers'd throughout his whole Work, yet I have not thought fit to intermix them in the History, because it is such a different way from what we are us'd to. However, I thought it necessary to give a Taste of it here for the Vindication of my Author.*

* P. 214.

And

And certain it is, that ſuch things as theſe, nay, of leſs Conſideration, were thought a good Defence of Herodotus *againſt* Plutarch's *Objections, by no leſs a Perſon than the Learned* Harry Stephen.

Alwákidi's *Deſign was not to write the Life of any particular* Caliph, *but to give an Account of the* Conqueſt of Syria. *I ſhould have been very glad if he had given me an Opportunity of comparing him with ſome noble* Greek *or* Latin *Hiſtorian, but his maner of Writing will not allow it. He is chiefly valuable for this, that we find Materials in him which we have no where elſe, and he is not ſo ſparing of them, but there is Liberty enough to pick and chuſe. How I have ſucceeded in this Performance I muſt ſubmit to the Judgment of the Learned Reader; only taking the Liberty to ſay, that tho' I have not tranſcrib'd my Author in every Particular, yet I have done him no Injury in any thing that I have related; nor have I taken a Liberty of Writing careleſly, in hopes of being ſecure from Diſcovery (the Language not being generally underſtood) but have us'd the ſame Diligence as I would have done, were I ſure that every one of my Readers would inſtantly have collated my Book with the Manuſcripts.*

The Archbiſhop's Copy which I chiefly

us'd is 250 *Years old; being written in the Year of the* Hegjrah 863. *of our Lord* 1458. *There is another Copy of it among Dr.* Pocock's MSS. De Herbelot *says there is one in the King of* France *his Library, which are all that I know of in* Europe.

I have, as Occasion serv'd, made such Use of other Authors that were for my purpose, as the Shortness of the Time I could allow my self at Oxford *would permit.* Alwákidi *writ also a History of the Conquest of* Ægypt, *which I have not met with; otherwise my Account of that Matter might have been more compleat. All that I can say is, that I have done what I could; and if this small Beginning shall be a means to excite any Person of greater Abilities and more Opportunity, to bring to light any Part of the Eastern History, I shall have Reason to think my Time very well spent.*

S. OCKLEY.

A TABLE of the Months both in the *Julian* Solar, and the *Arabian* Lunar Year, with the Days collected.

	Roman Months.	Days of the Months.	Days collected.	In Bissexile.	Arabian Months.	Days of the Months.	Days collected.
1	*January*,	31	31	31	Moharram,	30	30
2	*February*,	28	59	60	Saphar,	29	59
3	*March*,	31	90	91	Rebíyah, *the First*,	30	89
4	*April*,	30	120	121	Rebíyah *the Second*,	29	118
5	*May*,	31	151	152	Jomâda *the First*,	30	148
6	*June*,	30	181	182	Jomâda *the Second*,	29	177
7	*July*,	31	212	213	Rejeb,	30	207
8	*August*,	31	243	244	Shaabân,	29	236
9	*September*,	30	273	274	Ramadân,	30	266
10	*October*,	31	304	305	Sjewâl,	29	295
11	*November*,	30	334	335	Du'lkaadah,	30	325
12	*December*,	31	365	366	Du'lhhegjah,	29	*354

*In that Year which is Intercalated (of which there are 11 in every 30, *viz.* 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29.) *Dulhagjah* has 30 Days.

The *Arabian* Year being Lunar, runs through the Solar Year, as the Reader may obſerve in the following Chronological Table. See Dr. *Prideaux*'s Life of *Mahomet*, p. 85.

A Chronological TABLE *for* 35 *Years.*

Years of the Julian Period.	*Years of Christ, reckoning from the first day of* January.	*Years of the* Hegjrah *or Flight of* Mahomet, *with the Days of the Month on which they begin in the Solar Year.*	*Grecian Emperors.*	*Saracenical Caliphs.*
5335	622	1. *July* 16	HERACLIUS. 13	
6	623	2. *July* 5	14	
7	624	3. *Jun.* 24	15	
8	625	4. *Jun.* 13	16	
9	626	5. *Jun.* 2	17	
5340	627	6. *May* 23	18	MAHOMET. 1
1	628	7. *May* 11	19	2
2	629	8. *May* 1	20	3
3	630	9. *April* 20	21	4
4	631	10. *April* 9	22	5
5345	632	11. *March* 29	23	ABUBEKER. 1
6	633	12. *March* 18	24	2
7	634	13. *March* 7	25	OMAR. 1
8	635	14. *Feb.* 25	26	2
9	636	15. *Feb.* 14	27	3
5350	637	16. *Feb.* 3	28	4
1	638	17. *Jan.* 23	29	5
2	639	18. *Jan.* 12	30	6
3	640	19. *Jan.* 2 20. *Dec.* 21	31	7 8
4	641	21. *Dec.* 10	32	9
5355	642	22. *Nov.* 30.	Constantine *reigns 4 Months,* Heracleonas 6, CONSTANS, *son of* Constantine. 1	10
6	643	23. *Nov.* 19	2	OTHMAM. 1
7	644	24. *Nov.* 7	3	2
8	645	25. *Oct.* 28	4	3
9	646	26. *Oct.* 17	5	4
5360	647	27. *Oct.* 7	6	5
1	648	28. *Sept.* 25	7	6
2	649	29. *Sept.* 14	8	7
3	650	30. *Sept.* 4	9	8
4	651	31. *Aug.* 24	10	9
5365	652	32. *Aug.* 12	11	10
6	653	33. *Aug.* 2	12	11
7	654	34. *July* 22	13	12
8	655	25. *July* 11	14	ALI. 1

A Chronological TABLE *for* 35 *Years.*

Remarkable Actions or Accidents.

Y. H.	
1	*Mahomet* over-power'd at *Meccah*, flees to *Medinah*. This same Year
2	*Ali* marries *Phatemah*, *Mahomet*'s only Daughter. In the Second
3	Year of the *Hegjrah* was the Battle of *Beder*.
4	
5	
6	*Mahomet* is inaugurated by his Followers, and made Supream in all Matters both
7	Secred and Civil. The same Year there was a Truce made between the *Corashites*
8	and *Mahomet*. In the 7th Year *Mahomet* takes *Chaibar*, where *Zeinab* a Jewish Young Woman gave him the Poison of which he died.
9	The *Corashites* breaking the Truce, *Mahomet* goes against them with 10000 Men,
10	and takes *Meccah*.
	Moseilamah pretends to prophecy. *Mahomet* goes his last Pilgrimage to *Meccah*.
11	*Mahomet* dies at *Medinah*, and is buried in *Ayesha*'s House.
12	
13	*DAMASCUS* taken.
14	*Baalbek* taken. *Basora* and *Cufah* are wall'd by *Omar*'s Command.
15	The great Battle at *Yermouk*.
16	*JERUSALEM* surrendered into the Hands of the *Saracans* by *Sophronius*. The *Persians* are beaten.
17	*Antioch* taken.
18	*Abu Obeidah* dies of the Plague at *Emâus*. *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* invades *Ægypt*.
19	
20	} *Ispahan* taken by the *Saracens*.
21	
22	
23	*OMAR* is kill'd.
24	
25	
26	
27	
28	
29	
30	(the Hands of the *Saracens*.
31	*Yazdejerd*, the last of the *Persian* Kings is kill'd : All *Persia* falls into
32	
33	About this time the *Saracens* began to complain of *Othman*, who to
34	appease them, put *Mahomet* Son of *Abubeker* into the Lieutenancy of
35	*Ægypt*, instead of *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*. *Othman* is kill'd, and *Ali* succeeds him.

N. B. That in the Arabick Words, *j* Consonant and *ou* are pronounc'd as in *French.*

HISTORY

OF THE

SARACENS.

Abubeker, First Caliph after *Mahomet*. Abubeker.

MAHOMET, the great Impostor, and Founder of the Saracenical Empire, died at *Medinah*, on * Monday the sixth of *June*, in the Year of our Lord Six Hundred and thirty two, being the twenty second Year of the Reign of *Heraclius* the Grecian Emperor. After he was dead, the next care to be taken was for a Successor; and it was indeed very necessary that there should be one provided as soon as might be: for their Government and Religion being both, as yet, very tender, and a great many of

Hegjrah XI. A. D. 632.

* Elmakin Chap. 1.

Abubeker.

of *Mahomet*'s Followers being no great Bigots, as not having yet forgotten their ancient Rites and Customs, but rather forced to leave them for fear, than upon any Conviction; Affairs were in such a Posture as could by no means admit of an *Interregnum*. Wherefore the † same Day that he expired, the Muslemans met together in order to the Election of a *Caliph* or Successor. In which Assembly there had like to have been such a Fray, as might, in all Probability, had not *Omar* and *Abubeker* timely interposed, have greatly endangered, if not proved the utter Ruin of this new Religion and Polity. For this false Prophet of theirs having left no positive Directions concerning a Successor, or at least, they not being known to any but his Wives, who in all Probability might conceal them out of their Partiality in Favour of *Omar*, a hot Dispute arose between the Inhabitants of *Meccah* and *Medinah*: Those of *Meccah* claiming most Right in the Prophet, as being his Countrymen and Relations, and having embraced his Religion first; and not only so, but having accompanied him in his Flight for Religion from *Meccah* to *Medinah*, when he, being perse-

† Elmakin. Abu'lpharagius.

perſecuted at *Meccah*, was forced to make his Eſcape with manifeſt Hazard of his Life. They urged that nothing could be of ſo great Uſe to his Perſon and Cauſe, as this Service of theirs, and conſequently none could pretend to have ſo great a Right of naming a Succeſſor as themſelves. The Inhabitants of *Medinah*, with no leſs Vehemency, urged that the Prophet and their Religion were as much beholden to them as to the others, becauſe they had received him in his Flight, and by their Help and Aſſiſtance put him in a Capacity of making Head againſt his powerful Enemies; and that they had as much a Right in the Prophet as any others whatſoever, for protecting him in the time of his Adverſity, and upon that ſcore inſiſted upon the Right of electing a *Caliph*. In ſhort, they came to Daggers drawing, and were juſt upon falling from Words to Blows, when one of the ‖ *Anſars*, or Inhabitants of *Medinah*, a Man ſomething more moderate than the reſt, fearing the Conſequences of this Diſturbance, call'd out in the midſt of the Company, that they would have two *Caliphs*, that is, each Party one. But *Abubeker* and the reſt of the

Abubeker.

‖ *Arab.* The Helpers, *becauſe they helped* Mahomet *when he fled to* Medinah.

Abubeker. the *Mohagerins* or Inhabitants of *Meccah*, did by no means approve of ſuch an Accommodation, being deſirous that the whole Government ſhould remain in the Hands of their own Party. Then *Abubeker* ſtepped forth and told them, that he would name two Perſons, and they ſhould chuſe which of them both Parties could agree upon. The one was *Omar*, the other *Abu Obeid*. Upon which Motion the Company was again divided, and the Contention renewed afreſh, one Party ſtill crying out for the one, and the other for the other. At laſt *Omar* being wearied out, and ſeeing no Likelihood of deciding the Matter, was willing to give over, and bad *Abubeker* give him his Hand; which he had no ſooner done, but *Omar* promiſed him Fealty. The reſt all followed his Example, and ſo by the Conſent of both Parties *Abubeker* was at laſt ſaluted *Caliph*, and acknowledg'd the rightful Succeſſor of their Prophet *Mahomet*, and was now abſolute Judge of all Cauſes both Sacred and Civil. And thus that Difference was at laſt, with much ædo, compoſed, which had like to have been fatal to Mahometaniſm. And certainly it was very great Overſight in *Mahomet*

homet not to name a Succeſſor poſitively and publickly all the time of his Sickneſs; which if he had done, his Authority had without queſtion determined the Buſineſs, and prevented that Diſturbance, by which the Religion which he had been planting with ſo much Difficulty and Hazard, had like to have been endanger'd.

Abubeker.

*One Author tells us, that *Mahomet*, when he was ſick, commanded ſome that were about him to bid *Abubeker* ſay Prayers publickly in the Congregation: Which Deſire of his to have *Abubeker* officiate in his Place, looks very much as if he deſign'd he ſhould ſucceed him; and was ſo underſtood by his Wives *Ayeſha* and *Haphſah*, who were both preſent when *Mahomet* gave this Order, and endeavour'd what they could to have it revok'd. For as ſoon as *Mahomet* had ſpoken, *Ayeſha* told him, that if *Abubeker* went into his Place (meaning the Pulpit from which he us'd to ſpeak to the People) the Congregation would not be able to hear him for weeping, and deſir'd him to order *Omar* to go up; which he refuſing, *Ayeſha* ſpoke to *Haphſah* to ſecond her. The Importunity of them both

* Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi. M. S. Arab. Huntington. Num. 554.

Abubeker.

put the Prophet into such a violent Passion, that he told them they were as bad as *Joseph*'s Mistress, and commanded them again to send *Abubeker*. To which *Haphsah* answered, *O Apostle of God, now thou art sick, and hast preferr'd* Abubeker. He answer'd, *'Tis not I that have given him the Preference, but God.*

The Contest which happen'd immediately after his Decease makes it evident, that these Words of his had no Influence in the Election of *Abubeker*, but that it was chiefly owing to *Omar*'s Resignation. Who notwithstanding that he was the first that proposed *Abubeker* to the Assembly, and own'd him as *Caliph*, did not so well approve afterwards of that Choice, which Necessity put him upon at that critical Juncture, as appears by what he said. The Contents of which were, * "That he pray'd to "God to avert the ill Consequences "which it was to be feared would fol- "low upon such an indiscreet Choice. "That if ever any one should do such "a thing again, he would deserve "Death; and if any one should ever "swear Fealty to another without the "Consent of the rest of the Muslemans, "both

* Abu'lpharagius.

Abubeker.

" both he that took the Government " upon him, and he that swore to him, " ought to be put to Death. These and other such like Expressions were evident Signs of his Dislike; but it being done and past, there was no other Remedy, but to sit down at quiet, and rest himself contented.

Now though the Government was actually settled upon *Abubeker*, yet all Parties were not equally satisfy'd; for a great many were of Opinion, that the Right of Succession did belong to *Ali*, the Son of *Abu Taleb*. Upon which account the Mahometans were ever since that time divided; some maintaining that *Abubeker*, and those other two, *Omar* and *Othman*, that came after him, were the rightful and lawful Successors; and others disclaiming their Title altogether as Usurpers, and constantly asserting the Right of *Ali*. Of the former Opinion are the *Turks* at this Day; of the latter, the *Persians*. Which makes such a Difference between those two Nations, that notwithstanding their Agreement in other Points of their Superstition, they do upon this account treat one another as most damnable Hereticks. *Ali* had this to re-

Abubeker. * Elmakin.

commend him, that he was *Mahomet*'s Cousin German, and was the * first that embrac'd his Religion, except his Wife *Cadijah*, and his Slave *Zeid*, and besides was *Mahomet*'s Son in Law, having marry'd his Daughter *Phatemah*. *Abubeker* was *Mahomet*'s Father in Law, and was very much respected by him, so that he gave him the Sirname of *Assiddick*, which signifies in *Arabick*, one that is a great Speaker of Truth †, because he resolutely asserted the Truth of that Story which *Mahomet* told of his || going one Night to Heaven. And oftentimes he us'd to express a great deal of Kindness for him. * Once as he saw him coming towards him, he said to those that were about him: *If any one takes delight in looking upon a Man that has escaped from the Fire of Hell, let him look upon* Abubeker. *God, whose Name be blessed, hath given Man his Choice of this World or that which is with him, and this Servant* (meaning *Abubeker*) *hath chosen that which is with God.* Such Marks of Esteem as these must needs procure him a great Respect from those who look'd upon *Mahomet* as a Person inspired, and the Apostle of God; and did without question facilitate

† Elmakin,

|| Alcoran. *Chap.* XVII.

* Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dokmâk, M. S. Arab. Laud. Num. 806. 11.

tate his Promotion to the Dignity of *Caliph*. Abubeker.

Ali was not present at this Election, and when he heard the News, was not well pleas'd, as hoping that he should have been the Man. *Abubeker* sent ‖ *Omar* to *Phatemah*'s House, where *Ali* and some of his Friends were, with Orders to compel them to come in by Force, if they would not do it by fair means. *Omar* was just a going to fire the House, and *Phatemah* ask'd him, what he meant? He told her, that he would certainly burn the House down, unless they would be content to do as the rest of the People had done. Upon which *Ali* came forth and went to *Abubeker* and acknowledged his Sovereignty †, tho' he did not forget to tell him, that he wondred he would take such a thing without his notice. To which *Abubeker* answer'd, that the Exigency of the Matter was such as would by no means admit of Deliberation, because if it had not been done on a suddain, 'twas to be fear'd that the Government would have been wrung out of their Hands by the opposite Party. And, to make things slide the more easily, seem'd to be desirous of quitting his Charge

‖ Ismael Abu'l-pheda Kitàb Almoctaser phi Acbari'l-bashar. *M. S. Arab. Pocock. Num.* 330.

† Abu'lpharagius.

Abubeker.

and resigning the Government: And so goes up into the Pulpit, and there openly before them all desir'd, that they would give him Leave to resign, and confer that Charge upon some more worthy Person; but *Ali*, fearing the ill Will of the People, * whose Minds he perceiv'd were estranged from him, for having already stood it out so long, and being loath to make any new Disturbance, utterly refus'd to hear of it, and told him, that they would neither depose him themselves, nor desire that he should resign. And thus things were pretty well accommodated, and those of *Medinah*, as well as those of *Meccah*, consented to own *Abubeker*, as the true and rightful Successor of their Prophet *Mahomet*; only *Ali*, tho' he made no stir, look'd upon himself as injur'd ||, and there is a Story told by Tradition, which is reported to have been deliver'd by *Ayesha*, that *Ali* did not come in till after the Decease of his Wife *Phatemah*, who liv'd 6 Months after the Death of *Mahomet* her Father.

* Elmakin. *Chap.* 2.

|| Abu'lpheda.

† *Abubeker* being thus fix'd in his new Government, had Work enough to secure it; for the *Mahometan* Religion had not as yet taken such deep Root in the Hearts

† Abu'lpharagius.

Hearts of Men, but that they would very willingly have ſhaken it off again, if they had known how. The *Arabians* therefore, being a People of an unquiet reſtleſs Diſpoſition, would not omit this Opportunity of rebelling, which they thought was fairly offer'd them by the Death of *Mahomet*, but immediately take Arms, and refuſe to pay the uſual Tribute, Tithes and Alms, and to neglect thoſe Rites and Cuſtoms, which had been impos'd upon them by *Mahomet*. *Abubeker*, and thoſe about him at *Medinah*, took the Alarm, and fearing a general Revolt, and expecting no leſs than to be beſet on every Side, began to conſider which way they might beſt provide for the Security of themſelves and their Families. In order to which, they diſpos'd of their Women and Children, and ſuch others as were not able to bear Arms, in the Clefts and Cavities of the Rocks and Mountains, and put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. In the mean time, *Abubeker* ſends *Caled Ebn Waled*, with an Army of four thouſand and five hundred Men, to ſuppreſs the Rebels, who having routed them in a ſet Battle, brought off a great deal of Plunder, and made Slaves of their Children.

Abubeker.

Abubeker.

* Abu'lpheda.

* The chief amongſt thoſe that refus'd to pay the *Zecàt*, which is that part of a Man's Subſtance, which is conſecrated to God, as Tithes, Alms, and the like, and is ſtrictly enjoyn'd by the Mahometan Law, was *Malec Ebn Noweirah*, a Man that made a conſiderable Figure in thoſe Days, being the chief of an eminent Family among the *Arabs*, and celebrated for his Skill in Poetry, as well as his Manhood and Horſemanſhip. *Abubeker* ſent *Caled* to him, to talk with him about it, *Malec* told him, *that he could ſay his Prayers without paying that*. *Caled* ask'd him, if he did not know that Prayers and Alms muſt go together, and that the one would not be accepted without the other? What! does your Maſter ſay ſo? ſays *Malec*. Then don't you own him for your Maſter? ſaid *Caled*; and ſwore that he had a good Mind to ſtrike his Head off. They diſputed the Matter a while; and, at laſt, *Caled* told him he ſhould die. Did your Maſter ſay ſo? ſays *Malec*. What! again? ſays *Caled*, and reſolv'd upon his Death, tho' *Abdo'llah Ebn Amer* and *Kobâdah* interceded for him in vain. When *Malec* ſaw there was no way for him to eſcape, he turn'd

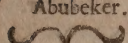
Abubeker.

turn'd him about, and looked upon his Wife, who was a Woman of admirable Beauty, and ſaid, *This Woman has kill'd me. Nay*, ſays *Caled*, *God has kill'd thee, becauſe of thy Apoſtacy from the true Religion. I profeſs the true Religion*, ſays *Melec*, meaning the Mahometan. The Word was no ſooner out of his Mouth, but *Caled* order'd *Derar Ben Alazwar*, a Perſon we ſhall ſee more of hereafter, to ſtrike his Head off. At which *Abubeker* was very much concern'd, and would have put *Caled* to Death, if *Omar* had not interceded for him: And indeed he did out of his great Zeal exceed the Limits of his Commiſſion; for *Mahomet* himſelf would have pardon'd an Apoſtate, provided he had been very well aſſur'd of his Repentance.

Having this Opportunity of mentioning this great Man *Caled*, we muſt not paſs him by, without taking ſome Notice of his Character. He was the beſt General of the Age he live'd in, and it was to his Courage and Conduct that the Saracens chiefly owe the ſubduing of the Rebels, the Conqueſt of *Syria*, and the Eſtabliſhment of their Religion and Polity. 'Tis to be queſtion'd whether his Love and Tender-

neſs

Abubeker.



ness towards his own Soldiers, or his Hatred and Aversion to the Enemies of the Mahometan Religion, was greatest; for upon all Occasions he us'd to give very signal Instances of both. He was a most irreconcileable and implacable Enemy to those who had once embrac'd the Mahometan Religion, and then apostatiz'd; nor would he spare them, tho' shewing the greatest Signs of unfeigned Repentance. His Valour was so surprising, that the *Arabs* call'd him *The Sword of God*; which Sir-name of his was known also to his Enemies, and is † mentioned as well by *Greek* as *Arab* Authors. If it did at any time (which was not often) carry him beyond the Bounds of his Conduct, it always brought him off safe again. He never, in the greatest Danger, lost his wonted Presence of Mind, but could as well extricate himself and his Men from present Difficulties, as prevent future ones.

† Ἐξῆλθεν δὲ ἐξ Ἀμεραῶς ὁ Χαλεὶδ ὃν λέγουσι μάχαραν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Theophanes, p. 278 Edit. Paris.

By him the Rebels being suppress'd, the Mahometans were in some measure eas'd of the Fear they stood in before, but there were still more Difficulties behind; for about this time several, perceiving the Success and Prosperity

ſperity of *Mahomet* and his Followers, ſet up for Prophets too, in Hopes of the like good Fortune, and making themſelves eminent in the World: Such wee *Oſud Alabbaſi* and *Tuleihah Ebn Choweiled*, with ſeveral others, which quickly came to nothing. But the moſt conſiderable of theſe was *Moſeilam*, who had emulated *Mahomet* in his Lifetime, and trumpt up a Book in Imitation of the *Alcoran*. He had formerly been with * *Mahomet*, and profeſs'd himſelf of his Religion, and might have been Partner with him in his Impoſture; but looking upon that to be beneath him, he utterly renounc'd all further Familiarity and Correſpondence with him, and was reſolv'd to ſet up for himſelf, which he did the Year before *Mahomet* died. He had now gather'd together a very conſiderable Body of Men in *Yemamah*, a Province of *Arabia*, and began to be ſo formidable that the Muſlemans were under ſome Apprehenſions of his growing Greatneſs, and did not think it any way conſiſtent with Prudence to neglect him any longer, knowing very well, that as ſoon as he ſhould be ſtrong enough, they and their Religion would quickly come to nothing.

Abubeker.

* Abu'lpheda.

They

Abubeker.

They therefore thought it most adviseable to set upon him first, and rather hazard the Event of a Battle at the Beginning, than by suffering him to go on too long, and gather more Strength, frustrate all manner of Hopes of a Victory. Upon this they move *Abubeker* to send sufficient Forces, under the Conduct of some experienc'd Commander, in order to destroy him. *Abubeker* forthwith dispatches *Akramah* and * *Serjil*, with an Army, and Order to march directly towards *Yemamah*. After them he sends *Caled*, the Scourge of Rebels, Apostates and False Prophets, who having join'd Forces with them, they had an Army of † forty thousand Muslemans. *Moseilam*, in the mean time, was not idle, and knowing that his Life and Reputation were now at Stake, prepar'd to give them Battle. The Muslemans ‖ encamped at a Place call'd *Akreba*; and *Moseilam*, with his Army, was just opposite to them. They drew near as fast as they could, and *Moseilam* charged the Muslemans with such Fury, that they were not able to make good their Ground against him, but were forced to retire with the Loss of 1200 Men. The Muslemans rather provoked than dis-

* Or rather, Serjabil.

† Elmakin.

‖ Abu'lpharagius.

discouraged by this Defeat, not long after renewed the Fight, and then began a most bloody Battle, *Moseilam* all the while behaving himself courageously, was at last thrust thro' with a Javelin, (* the same with which *Hamza*, *Mahomet*'s Uncle, was kill'd) by a Slave a Black. He being dead, the Victory easily enclined to the Muslemans; who having killed the false Prophet, and ten thousand of his Men, and obliged those that were left to turn Mahometans, returned to *Medinah*, the Seat of the *Caliph*, richly laden with the Spoil of their Enemies.

Abubeker.

* Abnbeker.

This same Year, being the first of *Abubeker*'s Reign, *Al Ola* was sent with a considerable Army to reduce the Rebels in *Bahrein*, which he did without any great Difficulty, killing a great many of them, and seizing their Effects, so that a great many of them chose rather to return to the Mahometan Superstition, which upon the Death of *Mahomet* they had forsaken, than expose themselves, by obstinately standing it out, to all the Miseries and Calamities of War.

'Tis strange and surprising, to consider from how mean and contempti-

ble

Abubeker.

ble Beginnings the greateſt things have, by the Providence of God, been raiſed in a ſhort time, of which the Saracenical Empire is a very conſiderable Inſtance; for if we look back about eleven Years, we ſhall find how *Mahomet*, unable to ſupport his Cauſe, routed and oppreſs'd by the powerful Party of the *Koraſhites* at *Meccah*, attended by a very ſmall Number of his deſpairing Followers, fled to *Medinah*, no leſs for the Preſervation of his Life, than his Impoſture: And now, within ſo ſhort a time after, we find the Undertakings of his Succeſſor proſper ſo much beyond Expectation, as to become a Terror to all his Neighbours; and the Saracens in a Capacity not only of keeping in their own Hands their *Peninſula* of *Arabia*, but of extending their Arms over larger Territories, than ever were ſubject to the *Romans* themſelves. Whilſt they were employed in *Arabia*, they were little regarded by the Grecian Emperor, who now too late felt them pouring in upon him like a Torrent, and driving all before them. The proud *Perſian* too, who ſo very lately had been domineering in *Syria*, and ſacked *Jeruſalem* and *Damaſcus*, muſt be forc'd to

part

part with his own Dominions, and submit his Neck to the Saracenic Yoke. It may be reasonably suppos'd, that, had the Empire been in the same flourishing Condition as it had been formerly, they might have been checked at least, if not extinguished: But besides that the Western Empire had been torn away by the barbarous *Goths*, the Eastern part of it had received so many Shocks from the *Hunns* on the one side, and the *Persians* on the other, that it was not in a Capacity to stop the Violence of such a powerful Invasion. * In the Emperor *Mauricius* his Time, the Empire paid Tribute to the *Chagân* or King of the *Hunns*. † And after *Phocas* had murder'd his Master, such lamentable havock there was among the Soldiers, that when *Heraclius* came not much above seven Years after to muster the Army, there were only two Soldiers left alive, of all those who bore Arms when *Phocas* first usurped the Empire. And tho' *Heraclius* was a Prince of admirable Courage and Conduct, and had done what possibly could be done to restore the Discipline of the Army, and had had great Success against the Persians, so as to drive

Abubeker.

* Theophylactus Simocatta, Histor. Maurician.

† Theophanes *in the Life of* Heraclitus.

Abubeker.

drive them not only out of his Dominions, but even out of their own; yet ſtill the very Vitals of the Empire ſeem'd to be mortally wounded; that there could no time have happen'd more fatal to the Empire, nor more favourable to the Enterprizes of the *Saracens*, who ſeem to have been raiſed up on purpoſe by God to be a Scourge to the Chriſtian Church, for not living anſwerably to that moſt Holy Religion which they had received.

Abubeker had now ſet Affairs at home in pretty good Order. The Apoſtates, which upon the Death of *Mahomet* had revolted to the Idolatry in which they were born and bred up, were reduc'd. The Forces of *Moſeilamah*, the falſe Prophet, were broken to Pieces, and himſelf killed; ſo that there was little or nothing now left to be done in *Arabia*. For tho' there were a great many Chriſtian *Arabs*, as particularly the Tribe of *Gaſſân*, yet they were generally employ'd in the *Grecian* Emperor's Service. So that the next Buſineſs the *Caliph* had to do, was, purſuant to the Tenor of his Religion, to make War upon his Neighbours for the Propagation of the *Truth*, (for ſo they call their Super-

Superſtition) and compel them either to become *Mahometans* or *Tributaries. † For their Prophet *Mahomet* had given them a Commiſſion of a very large, nay unlimited Extent, which was to fight till all People were of their Religion. And thoſe Wars which are undertaken upon this account, they call *Holy Wars*, with no leſs Abſurdity than we call that ſo which was once undertaken againſt them by the *Europeans*. *Abubeker* therefore ſends *Caled* with ſome Forces into *Irâk* or *Babylonia*; but his greateſt Longing was after *Syria*, which being a delicate, pleaſant, fruitful Country, and near to *Arabia*, ſeem'd to lie very conveniently for him. || After he had fully reſolv'd to invade it, he call'd his Friends about him, and made a Speech; in which he ſet before them the great Succeſs they had been proſper'd with already, and told them that the Phophet [*Mahomet*] had aſſur'd him before his Deceaſe, that their Religion ſhould make a great Progreſs, and their Territories be vaſtly enlarged, and that he had Thoughts himſelf of invading *Syria*: But ſince it had pleas'd God to prevent the Prophet's Deſigns by taking him away, and he was left Succeſſor, he

Abubeker.

* *Alcoran*, Chap. IX. 29.

† *See the Alcoran*, Chap. VIII 40.

|| Photouhho'-ſhâm, *i. e. The Conqueſts of* Syria, *written by* Abu Abdollah Mohammed Ben Omar Alwákidi, M. S. Arab. Laud. Num. A. 118. *And there is another Copy of it among Dr.* Pocock's *MSS.* Num. 326. *Out of this Author whatever relates to* Syria *is taken for the moſt part.*

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

he desired their Advice. They answer'd unanimously, that they were all at his Service, and ready to obey to the utmost of their Power whatsoever he should be pleas'd to command them. Upon this he sends circular Letters to the petty Princes of *Arabia Fœlix*, and other *Mahometan* Officers and Præfects, and to the Inhabitants of *Meccah* in particular, to command them to raise the utmost of their Forces, and with all possible speed repair to him at *Medinah*. The Contents of the Letter were as follows.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

* *These were* Abubeker's *Sirnames.*

* Abdollah Athik Ebn Abi Kohâpha, *to the rest of the true Believers Health and Happiness, and the Mercy and Blessing of God be upon you. I praise the most high God, and I pray for his Prophet* Mahomet. *This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true Believers into* Syria, *to take it out of the Hands of the Infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting for Religion is an Act of Obedience to God.*

He had sent this Letter out but a few Days, e'er the Messenger that carried it returned, and brought him word, that

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

that he had not deliver'd his Letter to any one Person but what had receiv'd it with great Expressions of Satisfaction, and a Readiness to comply with his Commands. And accordingly in a short time after, a very considerable Army, raised out of the several Provinces of *Arabia*, came to wait upon him at *Medinah*, and pitched their Tents round about the City. They waited some time, without receiving any Orders from the *Caliph*. And the Weather was so extreamly hot, and the Country so barren, that they were very hard put to it for Provision both for themselves and their Horses. Which made them complain to their Officers, and desire them to speak to *Abubeker* about it. Upon which one of them made bold to tell him, *You were pleas'd to send for us, and we obey'd your Commands with all possible speed; and now we are come here we are kept in such a barren Place, that we have nothing to subsist our Army. Therefore if your Mind be altered, and you have no further Occasion for us, be pleas'd to dismiss us.* The rest of the Heads of the Tribes seconded him. *Abubeker* told them, that he was far from designing them any Injury in detaining

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

them so long, but only he was willing to have his Army as compleat as he could. To which they answered, That they had not left a Man behind them that was fit for Service. Then *Abubeker* went with some of his Friends to the Top of an Hill, to take a View of the Army, and pray'd to God to endue them with Courage, and assist them, and not deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies. Afterwards he walked on Foot with them a little way, and the Generals rode. At last they told him, that they were asham'd to ride whilst he was on Foot. To which he answered, *I shall find my Account with God for these Steps, and you ride for the Service of God.* Meaning, that there was no Difference in that Matter, so long as they were all concern'd in the propagating their Religion. Then he took his Leave of them, and directed his Speech to *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, whom he had appointed General of these Forces, after this manner. Yezid, *be sure you do not oppress your own People, nor make them uneasy, but advise with them in all your Affairs, and take Care to do that which is right and just, for those that do otherwise shall not prosper. When you meet*

with

Abubeker.
Alwákidi.

with your Enemies, quit your ſelves like Men, and don't turn your Backs; and if you get the Victory, kill no little Children, nor old People, nor Women. Deſtroy no Palm-Trees, nor burn any Fields of Corn. Cut down no Fruit-Trees, nor do any Miſchief to Cattle, only ſuch as you kill to eat. When you make any Covenant or Article, ſtand to it, and be as good as your Word. As you go on, you will find ſome religious Perſons that live retired in Monaſteries, who propoſe to themſelves to ſerve God that way: Let them alone, and neither kill them, nor deſtroy their Monaſteries. And you will find another ſort of People that belong to the Synagogue of Satan, who have ſhaven Crowns; be ſure you cleave their Skulls, and give them no Quarter, till they either turn Mahometans or pay Tribute. When he had given them this Charge, he went back to *Medinah*, and the Army marched on towards *Syria*.

The News of this Preparation quickly came to the Ears of the Emperor *Heraclius*, who call'd a Council forthwith, and inveighed againſt the Wickedneſs and Inſincerity of his Subjects, and told them that theſe Judgments were come upon them becauſe they had not lived

Abubeker: Alwákidi.

anſwerably to the Rules of the Goſpel. He repreſented to them, that whereas in former times, powerful Princes, as the *Turk* and *Perſian*, had not been able to overcome them, they were now inſulted by the *Arabs*, a pitiful, contemptible People. Then he ſent ſome Forces with all poſſible ſpeed, but with ill Succeſs, for their General with twelve hundred of his Men was kill'd upon the ſpot, and the reſt routed, the *Arabs* in that Battle loſing only 120 Men. There were afterwards a great many Skirmiſhes, in which the Chriſtians came off by the worſt. The *Arabs* enriched with Spoil, concluded to make the *Caliph* a Preſent of all they had gotten, as the firſt Fruits of their Expedition; Arms and Ammunition only excepted. So ſoon as *Abubeker* had received the Spoil, he ſent a Letter to the Inhabitants of *Meccah*, and the adjacent Territories, in which he acquainted them with the good ſucceſs of his Forces, and call'd upon them not to be behind hand in fighting for the Cauſe of God. The good Succeſs of their Brethren gave them ſuch Encouragement, that they obey'd the Motion with as much Chearfulneſs, as if their being called to war, had

had been nothing else but being invited to partake of the Spoil. Whereupon they quickly raised an Army, and waited upon *Abubeker* at *Medinah*, who forthwith ordered them to join those Forces which he had before sent into *Syria*. He had made *Saëd Ebn Caled* General of this Army; but when *Omar* express'd his Dislike of it, the *Caliph* was in a Streight, being loath to take away *Saëd*'s Commission as soon as he had given it him; and on the other hand, not willing to disoblige *Omar*. In this Difficulty he applies himself to *Ayesha*, (*Mahomet*'s Widow) for whom they had a great Respect upon the Account of her near Relation to their Prophet *Mahomet*, and us'd frequently to consult her after his Decease, supposing that she being his best beloved Wife, might be better acquainted with his Thoughts both of Persons and Things than any other. When he came to her, she told him, that for *Omar*'s part he meant for the best when he gave that Advice, and that she was sure he did not speak it out of any Hatred or ill Will. Upon this *Abubeker* sends a Messenger to *Saëd*, to remand the Standard, which he very patiently

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

resigned, and said, *He cared not who had the Standard; let whosoever will have it, he was resolv'd to fight under it for the Propagation of Religion.* So vehement and earnest were those Men whom God had raised up to be a Scourge to the Church, that no Affront whatsoever could disoblige them so far as to make them lay aside their Resolutions.

Whilst the *Caliph* was in doubt how to dispose of this Commission, *Amrou Ebno'l Ás*, a very good Soldier, who afterwards conquered *Ægypt*, went to *Omar*, and desired him to make use of his Interest with the *Caliph*, that it might be conferred upon him. But *Omar*, whether out of any Antipathy to his Person, or because he thought no Man worthy of a Charge that sought after it, utterly refus'd to meddle in it. And when *Amrou* persisted, and was very instant with him, *Omar* bad him *not seek for the Superiority and Dominion of this World*; and told him, *That if he was not a Prince to Day, he would be one to Morrow*; meaning in a future State. And now *Amrou* was out of all Hopes of having any Command; when presently the *Caliph*, of his own accord, made him General of this Army, and bad

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

bad him, " Take Care to live religi-
" ously, and let the enjoying the Pre-
" sence of God and a future State, be
" the End and Aim of all his Under-
" takings, and look upon himself as a
" dying Man, and always have regard
" to the End of things; and remem-
" ber that we must in a short time all
" die, and rise again, and be called to
" an account. He ordered him not to
" go where the other Muslemans had
" been before him, but march into
" *Palestine*. And that he should take
" care to inform himself of *Abu Obei-*
" *dah*'s Circumstances, and assist him
" what he could. That he should not
" be inquisitive about Mens private
" Concerns; but take care that his
" Men were diligent in reading the
" *Alcoran*, and not suffer them to talk
" about those Things which were done
" in *the Times of Ignorance* (so they
" call all the time before *Mahomet*)
" because that would be the Occasion
" of Dissention among them.

After he had dismiss'd *Amrou*, he sent *Abu Obeidah* into *Syria*, to command all the Forces there, and told him, that there was no need of saying any thing new to him, since he had

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

had heard the Charge he had given to *Amrow*. One of the Grecian Emperor's Generals had the good Fortune to beat the Muſlemans in *Syria*; and *Abu Obeidah*, apprehenſive of the Emperor's Power, durſt not act offenſively. Which as ſoon as the *Caliph* underſtood, he judg'd him unworthy of that Poſt, and recalled *Caled* from *Iràk* to take his Place. *Caled* had performed great Things, conſidering the ſhort time he had been gone. He had taken *Hirah*, (afterwards the Imperial Seat of *Alſeffàh*) and ſeveral other Places, not able to endure a Siege, had ſubmitted to him, and paid Tribute. *Elmakín* ſays, that this was the firſt Tribute that was brought to *Medinah*. He had fought ſeveral Battles in which he never fail'd of Succeſs, and would without doubt have puſhed on his Conqueſt if he had not been recalled. When he came into *Syria*, he took different Meaſures from thoſe which had been uſed before; and the Soldiers found a great deal of Difference between a pious and a warlike General. *Abu Obeidah* was patient, meek and religious; *Caled* courageous and enterprizing.

At

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

At that time when he came to the Army, *Abu Obeidah* had ſent *Serjabil* with four thouſand Horſe towards *Boſtra*, a City of *Syria Damaſcena*, and very populous, in which there were at that time twelve thouſand Horſe. It was a great trading Town, which the *Arabs* uſed to frequent much. The Governour's Name was *Romanus*, who, as ſoon he heard that the *Saracens* were upon their March, went to meet them, and asked *Serjabil* the Reaſon of his Coming, and ſeveral other Queſtions relating to *Mahomet* and his Succeſſor. *Serjabil* told him, that the Reaſon of their Coming was to give them their Choice of becoming Mahometans or Tributaries; and added, that they had taken *Aracah*, *Sachnah*, *Tadmor*, and *Hawrân*, and would not be long before they came to *Boſtra*. The Governour, hearing this melancholly Story, went back, and would have perſuaded the People to have paid Tribute. They utterly refuſed it, and prepar'd themſelves for a vigorous Defence. *Serjabil* continued his March till he came before *Boſtra*; the Beſieged ſallied out, and gave him Battle. The Prayer which he uſed was this:

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

this: *O thou Eternal Being! O thou Creator of Heaven and Earth! O thou who art Great and Munificent! who hast promised us Victory by the Tongue of thy Prophet* Mahomet, *and the Conquest of* Syria, Iràk *and* Persia! *O God confirm our Hopes, and help those who assert thy Unity against those that deny thee. O God assist us as thou didst thy Prophet* Mahomet. *O Lord endue us with Patience, and† keep our Feet sure, and help us against the Infidels.* The Christians had the Advantage by much in that Battel, and the Saracens were like to have been beaten off, if *Caled* had not come seasonably to their Relief: But his Arrival turn'd the Fortune of the Day, and the Besieged were forced to retire into the City. Then *Caled* asked *Serjabil*, what he meant by attacking such a Place as *Bostra*, which was as it were the Market-Place of *Syria*, *Iràk*, and *Hejaz*, and where there was always such a great Resort of all sorts of Persons, and a great many Officers and Soldiers, with such an handful of Men? *Serjabil* told him, that he did not go of his own Accord, but by *Abu Obeidah*'s Command. *Abu Obeidah*, said *Caled*, *is a very honest Man, but understands nothing of military Affairs.*

† Alcoran III. 141.

fairs. Then *Caled* took Care and refresh-ed his Men, and order'd them to rest, for they were all extreamly fatigu'd, as well those that had marched that Day with him, as those that had fought under *Serjabil*; only he took a fresh Horse himself, and rode about all Night, sometimes going round the City, and sometimes round the Camp, for fear the Besieged should make any Excursions, especially at such a time as his Men were tired, and out of Order: In the Morning, about break of Day, he came into the Camp, and the Muslemans arose, and, according to their Custom, some of them purify'd themselves with Water; and others, who could not conveniently furnish themselves with Water, rubb'd themselves with Sand, (for that is allowed in Case of Necessity, and is frequently used, especially by such Mahometans as travel in those desart Countries, where there is great Scarcity of Water) and their General *Caled* said the Morning-Prayer among them, and then they took Horse immediately, for the Besieged had set open the Gates of the City, and drawn out their Men into the Plain, and taken an Oath to be true to one another, and fight

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker Alwâkidi.

fight it out to the laſt Man; which when *Caled* ſaw, he ſaid, *Theſe Villains come out now, becauſe they know we are weary: Come, let us go on, and the Bleſſing of God go along with us.* Both Armies were ſet in Battle Array, and now *Romanus* the Governour, who thought it the beſt way to ſecure himſelf and his Wealth, tho' at the Expence of Honour, Soul, and Conſcience, took an Opportunity to let *Caled* know, that he had more Friends than he was aware of. He rides before the reſt of the Army, and with a loud Voice challenges the Saracen General, who quickly came forth to him; he tells him, that he had for a long time entertain'd a favourable Opinion of the Mahometan Religion, and ſeemed to be very willing to renounce his own, upon Condition that *Caled* would ſecure him, and what belong'd to him; which he readily promiſed. *Romanus* added, that he had, upon *Serjabil*'s firſt coming to beſiege the Town, advis'd the Inhabitants to ſubmit to the Muſlemans, and pay Tribute; but that inſtead of being heard, he had only purchaſed the ill Will of the Citizens by his good Counſel. In ſhort, he ſaid whatever he could think on that

might

might ingratiate himſelf with the Saracen, and proffer'd his Service to go back again, and perſwade the Beſieged to ſurrender. *Caled* told him, that it would not be ſafe for him to go back again, without having firſt fought with him, becauſe then it would appear plainly how well they were agreed, which might occaſion ſome Danger to him from his own People: So they agreed to make a Shew of fighting, to colour the Matter the better; and after a while *Romanus*, as being beaten, was to run away. The Armies on both ſides ſaw them together, but no body knew what they ſaid. Immediately this Mock-Combat began, and *Caled* laid on ſo furiouſly, that *Romanus* was in danger of his Life, and ask'd *Caled*, whether that was his way of fighting in jeſt, and if he deſign'd to kill him? *Caled* ſmiled, and told him, No, but that it was neceſſary for them to ſhow ſomething of a Fight, to prevent their being ſuſpected. *Romanus* made his Eſcape, and indeed it was high time, for the Saracen had handled him ſo roughly, that whoſoever had ſeen him after the Combat, would have had little Reaſon to have thought he had fought in

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

in jeſt, for he was bruis'd and wounded in ſeveral Places. As ſoon as he came back, the Citizens asked him, what News? He told them what a brave Soldier *Caled* was, and extoll'd the Valour and Hardineſs of the Saracens, and deſired them to be ruled and adviſed in time, before it was too late; concluding that it would be altogether in vain to make any Oppoſition. But this enraged the Beſieged, and they ask'd him, if he could not be content with being a Coward himſelf, but he muſt needs make them ſo too? They would certainly have killed him, if it had not been for fear of the Emperor. However they confined him to his Houſe, and charged him at his Peril not to meddle nor interpoſe in their Affairs, and told him, that if he would not fight they would. *Romanus* upon this went home, diveſted of all Power and Authority, but he ſtill comforted himſelf with the Hopes of being ſecured and exempted from the common Calamity, if the Saracens ſhould take the Town, as he expected they would. The Beſieged having deprived him, ſubſtituted in his Room the General of thoſe Forces, which the Emperor had ſent to their Aſſiſtance,

and

and desired him to challenge *Caled*, which he did; and when *Caled* was preparing himself to go, *Abdo'rrahmân*, the Caliph's Son, a very young Man, but of extraordinary Hopes, begged of him to let him answer the Challenge. Having obtained Leave, he mounted his Horse, and took his Lance, which he handled with admirable Dexterity, and when he came near the Governour, he said, *Come, thou Christian Dog, come on.* Then the Combat began, and after a while the Governour finding himself worsted, having a better Horse than the Saracen, ran away, and made his Escape to the Army. *Abdo'rrahmân*, heartily vexed that his Enemy had escaped, fell upon the rest, sometimes charging upon the Right Hand, sometimes upon the Left, making way where he went. *Caled* and the rest of the Officers followed him, and the Battle grew hot between the Saracens and the miserable Inhabitants of *Bostra*, who were at their last Struggle for their Fortunes, their Liberty, their Religion, and whatsoever was dear to them, and had now seen the last Day dawn, in which they were ever to call any thing their own, without renouncing their

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Baptiſm. The Saracens fought like Lions, and *Caled* their General ſtill cry'd out, *Alhámlah, Alhámlah, Aljánnah, Aljánnah*; that is, *Fight, Fight, Paradiſe, Paradiſe.* The Town was all in an Uproar, the Bells rung, and the Prieſts and Monks ran about the Streets making Exclamations, and calling upon God, but all too late; for his afflicting Providence had determin'd to deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies. *Caled* and *Serjabil* (for the Saracens could pray as well as fight, and *England* as well as *Arabia* has had ſome that could do ſo too) ſaid, *O God! theſe vile Wretches pray with idolatrous Expreſſions, and take to themſelves another God beſides thee; but we acknowledge thy Unity, and affirm, that there is no other God but thee alone; help us, we beſeech thee, for the ſake of thy Prophet* Mahomet, *againſt theſe Idolaters.* The Battel continued for ſome time; at laſt the poor Chriſtians were forced to give way, and leave the Field to the victorious Saracens, who loſt only 230 Men. The Beſieged retired as faſt as they could, and ſhut up the Gates, and ſet up their Banners and Standards, with the Sign of the Croſs upon the Walls, intending to

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

to write ſpeedily to the Grecian Emperor for more Aſſiſtance.

And now we muſt leave the poor Inhabitants of *Boſtra* in their melancholy Circumſtances, and come to the depoſed Governour *Romanus*, who was extreamly well ſatisfy'd with the Succeſs of the *Saracens*, and was now going to act a Maſter-piece of Villainy. The *Saracens* kept Watch in their Camp all Night; and as they went their Rounds, they ſaw a Man come out from the City, with a Camlet Coat on, wrought with Gold. *Abdo'rrahmân*, who happen'd to be that Night upon the Watch, was the firſt that met him, and ſet his Lance to his Breaſt. *Hold*, ſaid he, *I am* Romanus, *the Governour of* Boſtra; *bring me before* Caled *the General* Upon this *Abdo'rrahmân* went with him to the General's Tent. As ſoon as *Caled* ſaw him he knew him, and asked him, how he did? *Sir*, ſaid he, *my People have been diſobedient, and mutiny'd, and depoſed me, and confined me to my Houſe, and threatned me with Death if I intermeddled with any of their Affairs. Wherefore, that I may chaſtiſe them according to their Deſerts, I have order'd my Sons*

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

and Servants to dig a Hole in the Wall (for his House stood upon the Wall of the Town) *and if you please to send such Persons as you can trust, I will take care to deliver the Town into your Hands.* Upon this *Caled* immediately dispatch'd *Abdo'rrahmân* with an Hundred Men, and ordered him, so soon as he had taken Possession, to fall upon the Christians, and open the Gates. *Romanus* conducted them to the Wall, and took them into his House; and after he had given them a Treat, he brought every one of them a Suit of such Cloaths as the Christian Soldiers us'd to wear, and disguised them. Then *Abdo'rrahmân* divided them into four Parts, five and twenty in a Company, and ordered them to go into different Streets of the City, and commanded them, that as soon as they heard him, and those that were with him, cry out, * *Alláh Acbar*, they should do so too. Then *Abdo'rrahmân* asked *Romanus*, where the Governour was which fought with him, and ran away from him? *Romanus* proffered his Service to shew him, and away they marched together to the Castle; attended with five and twenty Muslemans. When they came there, the

* *God is most mighty.*

Abubeker. Alwakidi.

the Governour asked *Romanus*, what he came for? Who anſwer'd, that he had no Buſineſs of his own, but only came to wait upon a Friend of his, that had a great Deſire to ſee him. *Friend of mine*! ſays the Governour; *What Friend*? *Only your Friend* Abdo'rrahmân, ſaid *Romanus*, *is come to ſend you to Hell.* The unhappy Governour finding himſelf betray'd, endeavoured to make his Eſcape. *Nay hold*, ſays *Abdo'rrahmân, tho' you ran away from me once in the Day-time, you muſt not ſerve me ſo again*; and ſtruck him with his Sword and killed him. As he fell, *Abdo'rrahmân* cry'd out, *Allâh Acbar.* The Saracens which were below hearing it, did ſo too; ſo did thoſe which were diſperſed about the Streets, that there was nothing but *Allâh Acbar* heard round about the City. Then thoſe Saracens which were diſguis'd kill'd the Guards, open'd the Gates, and let in *Caled* with his whole Army. The Town being now entirely loſt, the conquering *Saracens* fell upon the Inhabitants, and killed and made Priſoners all they met with; till at laſt the chief Men of the City came out of their Houſes, and Churches, and cry'd,

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Quarter, Quarter. The General, *Caled*, immediately commanded them to kill no more; for, said he, the Apostle of God us'd to say, *If any one be killed after he has cried out, Quarter, 'tis none of my Fault.*

Thus was the Condition of *Bostra* altered on a sudden, and they which had been before a wealthy and flourishing People, were now brought under the Saracenical Yoak, and could enjoy their Christian Profession upon no other Terms than paying Tribute. Some of the Inhabitants asked *Caled* the next Morning, who it was that betray'd the City to him. To which he making no Answer, as being unwilling to expose the Person that had done him such signal Service; *Romanus*, the Traytor, with most unparallell'd Impudence, started up himself, and said, *O you Enemies of God, and Enemies of his Apostle, I did it, desiring to please God.* To whom they answered, *Are not you one of us? No*, said he, *I have nothing to do with you, either in this World or that which is to come. And I deny him that was crucified, and whosoever worships him. And I chuse God for my Lord, Mahometanism for my Religion, the Temple of*

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Abubeker. Alwakidi.

Meccah *for the* * *Place of my Worship, the Muslemans for my Brethren, and* Mahomet *for my Prophet and Apostle. And I witness that there is but one God, and that he has no Partner, and that* Mahomet *is his Servant and Apostle, whom he sent with Direction into the right Way and the true Religion, that he might exalt it above every Religion, in spite of those who join Partners with God.* After he had given such an ample Testimony, and made so full a Confession of his Faith, *Caled* appointed some Men to take Care of his Effects, for he durst not venture himself any longer in *Bostra*, after having been guilty of such unexampled Villany.

* Arab. Keblah, *which signifies the Place towards which they turn themselves when they say their Prayers. For as the Jews, tho' in Captivity, used to turn their Faces towards the Temple of* Jerusalem, *when they pray'd; so do the* Mahometans *towards the Temple at* Meccah. *And there are Books in* Arabick *(one of which I have seen in the* Bodleian *Library) teaching how to find out the* Zenith *or Vertical Points of the* Keblah, *or Temple of* Meccah; *Mathematically: That let a Musleman be where he will he may know which way to set his Face when he says his Prayers.*

Then *Caled* wrote to *Abu Obeidah*, to acquaint him with his Success, and withal to command him, to bring those Forces which he had with him, that they might all march together to the Siege of *Damascus*. Then he put a Garrison of four hundred Horse into *Bostra*, and sent *Abubeker* the News of

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

his Victory, and his Intention to besiege *Damascus*. There were at that time 7000 *Saracens* with *Amrou Ebnòl Aâs* in *Palestine*; and with *Abu Obeidah* 37000. Which had been raised at several times out of *Hejaz*, *Temen*, *Hadramut*, the Sea-Coasts of *Ammàn*, and the Territories of *Meccah* and *Thayef*. *Caled* had with him only 1500 Horse, which he brought with him out of *Irâk*. *Heraclius*, the Grecian Emperor, was now at *Antioch*, and being informed what Havock the Saracens had made in his Dominions, thought it time to look about him. He could not endure to think of losing *Damascus*, but sends a General, which our *Arabick* Author (not exact at all in the Names of the Christians) calls *Calous*, and with him 5000 Men, to defend it. *Calous* came first to *Hems*, formerly called *Emessa*, being the chief City of the adjacent Territory which is called by the same Name. It lies between *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, distant five days Journey from each of them; a Place of a most healthful and pleasant Air, compassed about with beautiful Gardens and fruitful Orchards, which are plentifully water-

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ed by a Rivulet drawn from the River *Orontes*, called by the *Arabian* Geographers, *Alâsi*, which passes by the City at a Distance of about half a Mile. When he came there, he found the Place very well provided both with Soldiers, Arms, and Ammunition. For the Conquests of the Saracens had struck such a Terror into all the Country, that every Place had fortify'd it self as well as possible. He stay'd a Day and a Night at *Hems*, and passed from thence to *Baalbec*. He no sooner came near that Place, but there came out to meet him a mixed Multitude of Men and Women, with their Hair about their Ears, weeping and wringing their Hands, and making most pitiful Lamentation. *Calous* asked them what was the Matter. Matter? said they, Why, the *Arabs* have over-run all the Country, and taken *Aracah*, and *Sachnah*, and *Tadmor*, and *Hawràn*, and *Bostra*, and are now set down before *Damascus*. He asked them, what was their General's Name, and how many Men he had? They told him that his Name was *Caled*, and that he had but fifteen hundred Horse. *Calous*

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

lous despised so inconsiderable a Number of Men, and bad the People be of good Chear, and swore, that when he came back again he would bring *Caled*'s Head along with him upon the Point of his Spear.

As soon as he came to *Damascus*, he produced the Emperor's Letter, and told the People, that he expected to have the whole Command of the Town himself; and would have had *Izraíl*, the former Governour, sent out of Town: But the *Damascens* did by no means approve of that, for they lik'd their old Governour very well, and would not hear of parting with him in such a time of Extremity, when they had as great Occasion for Men of Courage, as ever they had since they were a People. Upon this they were divided into Factions and Parties, and continu'd wrangling and quarrelling one with another, at that very time when there was the greatest need of Unity and a right Understanding; for now the *Saracens* were expected every Moment. It was not long before they came; the Christians went forth to meet them, and both Armies were drawn up in order to Battel.

When

When both were ready to fight, *Caled* called out to *Derar Ebn'ol Azwar*, and ſaid, *Now* Derar *quit thy ſelf like a Man, and follow the Steps of thy Father, and others of thy Countrymen, who have fought for the Cauſe of God. Help forward Religion, and God will help thee.* *Derar* was mounted upon a fine Mare, and *Caled* had no ſooner ſpoken, but he immediately charged the Horſe, and killed four Troopers, and then wheeled off, and fell upon the Foot, and kill'd ſix of them, and never left charging them till he had broken their Ranks, and put them into Diſorder. At laſt they threw Stones at him, and preſſed upon him ſo hard, that he was forced to retire among his own Men, where he received due Thanks. Then *Caled* call'd out to *Abdo'rrahmân*, the *Caliph*'s Son, whom we have mention'd before, who did the like. *Caled* himſelf inſulted the Chriſtians, and gave them reproachful Language, and challeng'd any of them to fight with him. *Izraîl* upon this called to *Calous*, and told him, that it would be very proper for him, who was the Protector of his Country, and whom the Emperor had ſent

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

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Abubeker. Alwákidi.

on purpoſe to fight, to anſwer the Challenge: However *Calous* would rather have ſtaid behind, if he had not been in a manner compell'd to go by the Importunity of the People. At laſt, with much ado, he arms himſelf, and goes forwards; and becauſe he had a mind to diſcourſe with his Adverſary, he takes an Interpreter along with him. As they went on together, *Calous* began to ſhake in his Harneſs for Fear of the *Saracen*, and would fain have perſwaded the Interpreter with large Promiſes, to have taken his Part, if the *Saracen* ſhould fall upon him. The Interpreter begg'd his Pardon, and told him, that as far as Words would go, he was at his Service, but he did not care for Blows; and *therefore*, ſays he, *look to your ſelf, Sir; for my part I will not be concern'd: For if I ſhould meddle, and be knock'd on the Head for my pains, I pray what Good would all your fair Promiſes do me?* When they came to *Caled*, the Interpreter began after this manner; *Sir*, ſaid he, *I'll tell you a Story: There was a Man had a Flock of Sheep, and he put them to a negligent Shepherd, and the wild Beaſts devoured them. Which*

when

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

when the Owner perceived, he turn'd away the Shepherd, and got another, that was a Man of Application and Courage; then when the wild Beast came again, the Shepherd kill'd him. Have a care that this does not prove to be your Case: You Arabians *were a poor, contemptible, vile People, and went about with hungry Bellies, naked and barefoot, and liv'd upon Barly-bread, and what you could squeeze out of Dates. Now since you are come into our Country, and have fared better, you begin to rebel. But now the Emperor has taken Care to send a Man that is a Soldier indeed, and therefore it concerns you to look to your selves. And he has brought me along with him to talk with you, out of Compassion towards you. Prithee,* says *Caled, don't tell me thy Stories; as for what thou say'st of our Country, 'tis true enough. But you shall find that times are well amended with us, and that instead of our Barley-Bread and course Fare, you twit us withall, we shall be Masters of all your Wealth and good Things; nay, your Persons, and Wives, and Children too. And as for this same great Man thou speakest of; what dost tell me of a great Man for, who have taken* Tadmor, Hawràn *and* Bostra? *Let him be as great as he will; if he*

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

he be the Support of your Kingdom, ſo am I of our Religion. *Calous* did not like the Mien and Behaviour of his Adverſary at all, and bad the Interpreter ask him to defer the Combat till the next Day; intending, if he had once made his Eſcape, never to have come ſo near him any more. But the Saracen did not deſign to part with him ſo, but ſaid that he would not be fool'd, and immediately got between him and the Chriſtian Army, to prevent his running away, and began to lay about him with his Spear moſt vehemently. They both fought bravely for a while; in the mean time the Interpreter perceiving them engaged, mov'd off, and eſcaped to the Chriſtian Camp. At laſt *Calous* grew weary, and began to ſtand altogether upon the defenſive part. The Saracen perceiving that he ſtood upon his Guard, left off puſhing him, and came up cloſe to him, and dextrouſly ſhifting his Spear from his Right Hand to his Left, laid hold on him, and drew him to him, and flung him from his Saddle to the Ground. The Saracens immediately ſhouted out, *Allah Acbar*, which made the whole Camp echo, and the poor Chriſtians trem-

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

tremble. *Caled* took Care of his Prisoner, and changed his Horse, and took a fresh one, which the Governour of *Tadmor* had presented him with, and went into the Field again. *Derar* desired him to stay behind, *for*, says he, *you have tired your self with fighting with this Dog, therefore rest your self a little, and let me go.* To which *Caled* answered, *O* Derar, *we shall rest in the World to come; he that labours to Day, shall rest to Morrow*, and rode forwards. He was but just gone, when *Romanus*, the treacherous Governour of *Bostra*, called him back, and told him that *Calous* would speak with him; who even in those calamitous Circumstances, had not laid aside his Resentment. When he came back, *Calous* gave him some Account of the Difference which had been between him and *Izraîl* the Governour of *Damascus*, and told him, that if he should overcome him, it would be of great Moment, in order to the taking the City; he advis'd him therefore to challenge him, and get him out to single Combat, and kill him if he could. *Caled* told him, that he might be sure he would not spare any Infidel or Idolater.

Calous

Abubeker Alwákidi.

Calous being now a Prisoner, his five thousand Men, which he had brought to the Relief of *Damascus*, were very urgent with *Israîl* to go out, and answer *Caled*'s Challenge; which he declined at first: But afterwards, when they threaten'd him with Death, if he persisted in his Refusal, he told them, that the Reason why he refused at first, was not because he was afraid, but because he had a Mind to let their Master *Calous* try his Valour first. Then he armed himself and mounted upon a good Horse, rode up to the Saracen; who, amongst other Discourse, asked him his Name? He answered, *My Name is* Izraîl, (which is the Name of that Angel, whom the Mahometans suppose to take care of the Souls of Persons deceased.) *Caled* laugh'd, and said, *Well, your Names-Sake* Izrail *is just ready at your Service, to convey your Soul to Hell. Izraîl* asked him what he had done with his Prisoner *Calous*! He told him, that he had him bound. *Why did you not kill him*? said *Izraîl. Because*, said the Saracen, *I intend to kill you both together.* Then the Combat began, and was managed on both Sides with great Dexterity and Vigor. *Izraîl* behaved himself

himſelf ſo well, that *Caled* admired him. At laſt the Victory inclined to *Caled*; and *Izraîl* finding himſelf over-match'd, and having the better Horſe of the two, turn'd his Back, and rode away. *Caled* purſued him as faſt as he could, but could not overtake him. When *Izraîl* perceived that his Adverſary did not come up, imagining that this Slackneſs of his proceeded from an unwillingneſs to fight, he reſum'd his Courage, and faced about, in hopes to have taken him Priſoner; which *Caled* perceiving, alighted from his Horſe, and choſe rather to fight on Foot; and as *Izraîl* ruſhed upon him, he ſtruck at the Legs of his Horſe, and brought him down to the Ground, and took him Priſoner. Having now in his Poſſeſſion both the General and the Governour, he asked them, if they were willing to renounce their Chriſtianity, and turn Mahometans? Which they both conſtantly refuſing, were incontinently beheaded. *Caled* having ordered the Heads to be brought to him, took them, and threw them over the Walls into the Town.

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

There were ſeveral Battles fought before *Damaſcus* in which the Chriſti-

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

ans for the most part were beaten. At last, when they saw that by sallying out they had many Men killed and taken Prisoners, they determined to save the Remainder for the Defence of the Walls, and expose themselves no more to the Hazard of a Field-Fight. Thus they shut up themselves within the Town, and *Caled* pitched his Tents over against the East Gate, and *Abu Obeidah* set down before the Gate which they call *Aljábiyah.* The City being thus straightly besieged, and the Inhabitants not daring to depend altogether upon those Forces which they had at present, they resolved to dispatch a Messenger speedily to the Grecian Emperor *Heraclius*, than at *Antioch*: So they wrote a Letter to him, in which they acquainted him with what had pass'd, and the Death of *Calous* and *Izraíl*, and what Conquests the Saracens had made on that Side of the Country. When they had closed the Letter, they delivered it into the Hands of a fit Person, and let him down on the Outside of the Wall in the Night. The Messenger managed his Business so well, that he escaped the Saracens, who were a People not very negligent in their Watch.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Watch. When he came to *Antioch*, and delivered his Letter, the Emperor was extreamly concerned, and sent *Werdàn* with an hundred thousand Men, to relieve *Damascus*.

Our Author tells us, that *Werdàn* refused to accept of this Commission at first, as thinking himself slighted, because the Emperor had not employed him at the Beginning of the War. But I never give much Credit to Authors that speak of things done in foreign Courts, and out of their knowledge, however worthy of Credit they may be, when they write of things done by their own Countrymen, and give an Account of such Transactions, as they may reasonably be supposed to have sufficient Opportunities of informing themselves about. For this Reason I would as little heed an *Arabick* Author, writing about the Affairs of the Christians, as I would a *Greek* or *Latin* one, giving an Account of the *Arabians*; because, in this Case, both must needs take a great deal upon Trust, by hearsay, and uncertain Reports, and consequently be imposed on themselves, and deceive their Readers. Wherefore I have rather chosen to take this History

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

out of their own Authors, than depend upon the Christian Writers, who were very little acquainted with the Affairs of the Saracens.

Werdàn, however, undertook the Command of that Army; and after the Emperor and some of the Nobility had gone part of the Way with him, and taken their Leave, he marched with all possible Speed towards *Damascus*; the Emperor having given him particular Charge, to take Care to cut off all Supplies from the Saracen Army, which was with *Caled* and *Abu Obeida*.

Within a short time after, the Saracens heard that the Emperor's Army was upon their March, near *Ajnadîn*. *Caled* immediately goes to *Abu Obeidàh*, to advise with him what was proper to be done in this Case. *Caled* was for having the Siege raised, and the Saracens go in a full Body against the Grecian Army; and then, if they got the Victory, return to the Siege again: But *Abu Obeidah* told him, that he was by no means of that Opinion, because the Inhabitants of *Damascus* were already in a very great Streight, and their going away would only give them an Opportunity of getting fresh Supplies, both

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

both of Arms and Provision, into the Town, and enable them to prolong the Siege: With which Answer the General was very well satisfied.

Werdàn's Army was very slow upon their March, and the poor besieged Christians were now in great Distress. Finding no Assistance from the Emperor, they proposed Terms to the General, and would have given him a thousand Ounces of Gold, and 200 Suits of Silk, upon Condition that he would raise the Siege. To which he answered, that he would not raise the Siege, unless they would either become Tributaries or Mahometans: If neither of these Conditions pleased them, they must be content to fight it out. About six Weeks after this, the Saracens heard an unusual Noise in the City, great Exclamations and Expressions of Joy. They could not imagine what should be the meaning of it, but in a very short time they were satisfied, for their Scouts brought them Word, that the Emperor's Army was at hand. *Caled* again would very willingly have gone to meet them; but *Abu Obeidah* would by no Means consent that the Siege should be raised. At last they agreed

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

to choose some very good Soldier, and send him with part of their Forces, to give the Emperor's Army Diversion, that they might not come and disturb the Siege. The Man that *Caled* pitch'd upon to have the Management of this Expedition, was *Derar Ebn'ol Ezwàr*, an excellent Soldier, and most mortal Enemy of the Christians, (as indeed all of them were, *Abu Obeidah* only excepted) who accepted of this Post very chearfully, and cared not how many or how few Men he had with him, provided he might be employed in some glorious Action against the Christians. But *Caled* told him, that tho' they were obliged to fight for their Religion, yet God had commanded no Man to throw himself away, and therefore bad him be content to accept of such Assistance as he should think fit to send along with him; and ordered him, in case of great Danger, to retire to the Army. *Derar* immediately prepared to go; and as they were upon their March, the Emperor's vast Army drew near. When the Saracens saw such a Multitude, they were afraid, and would willingly have retired; but *Derar* swore, *That he would not stir a Step back without*

out fighting. And *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* told them, *That it was a common thing for the Muſlemans to rout a great Army with an Handful of Men.* The Armies drew near, and notwithſtanding the vaſt Diſproportion of their Numbers, *Derar* advanc'd, without ſhewing the leaſt Token of Fear or Concern; and when he came up, he always fought moſt where *Werdàn* the General was. And firſt of all he kill'd his Right-hand Man, and then the Standard-bearer. The Standard had in it the Sign of the Croſs, and was richly adorned with precious Stones. As ſoon as *Derar* ſaw it fall, he commanded his *Saracens* to alight, and take it up, whilſt he defended them. Immediately they obey'd, and he in the mean time laid about him ſo furiouſly, that none durſt come within his reach to ſave the Standard. *Werdàn*, the Emperor's General, had a Son that was his Father's Lieutenant in *Hems*, who march'd with ten thouſand Men when he heard that his Father was going againſt the Muſlemans; and had the Fortune to join him whilſt the Armies were engag'd. He obſerving *Derar*'s Activity, and what Execution he did a-

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

mongſt the *Greeks*, watched his Opportunity, and wounded him in the left Arm with a Javelin. *Derar* turned himſelf about, and ſtruck him with his Lance ſo violently, that when he drew it back again, he left the Point of it ſticking in the Bones. Notwithſtanding which he made as vigorous a Defence as could be expected from a Man diſarmed; but the *Greeks* preſſed hard upon him, and with much ado took him Priſoner. When the *Saracens* ſaw their Captain taken Priſoner, they fought as long as they could, in hopes of recovering him, but all in vain: Which diſcourag'd them ſo much, that they had like to have run away. Which *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* perceiving, called out to them with a loud Voice, and ſaid, *What! don't you know, that whoſoever turns his Back upon his Enemies, offends God and his Prophet? And that the Prophet ſaid, that the Gates of Paradiſe ſhould be open to none but ſuch as fought for Religion? Come on! I'll go before you. If your Captain be dead or taken Priſoner, yet your God is alive, and ſees what you do.* With theſe Words he reſtored the Battle. In the mean time News came to *Caled*, that *Derar* was

was taken. Upon which he immediately applies himself to *Abu Obeidah*, to know what was best to be done. *Abu Obeidah* sent him word, that he should leave some body in his Place, and go himself to rescue *Derar*. Upon this he leaves *Meisarah Ebn Mesrouk* in his Place, with a thousand Horse, and taking a considerable Force along with him, went with all possible speed to relieve the *Saracens*. When those that were engag'd saw the Recruit come up, they fell on like Lions; and *Caled* charged in the thickest part of them, where there were most Banners and Standards, in hopes of finding *Derar* Prisoner there, but all in vain. At last there revolted a Party of them that came with *Werdàn*'s Son from *Hems*, and begg'd of *Caled* Protection and Security for themselves and their Families. *Caled* told them, *That he would consider that when he came to* Hems, *and not in this Place.* Then he asked them, if they knew what was become of *Derar?* They told him, that assoon as he was taken Prisoner, *Werdàn*, the General, had sent him with a Guard of an Hundred Horse Prisoner to *Hems*, in order to make a Present of him to *He-*

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Heraclius the Emperor. *Caled* was glad to hear it, and immediately dispatch'd *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* with an hundred Horse, to retake *Derar*. They made all possible haste, and took the direct Road to *Hems*; at last they overtook them, and killed and routed them, and recovered their Friend *Derar*, and hasten'd back to join *Caled*, who by this time had entirely defeated the Grecian Army. They pursu'd them as far as *Wadi'l Hâyat*, and brought off what Plunder, and Horses, and Arms they could, and returned to the Siege of *Damascus*, which had now but little Hopes of holding out long.

The Emperor *Heraclius* not willing to part with *Syria* thus, sent to *Werdàn* again, and gave him the Command of 70000 Men at *Ajnadîn*; and commanded him to go and give the *Saracens* Battle, and raise, if possible, the Siege of *Damascus*. When the News of this Preparation came to *Caled*'s Ears, he went to *Abu Obeidah*, to consult what was proper to be done; who told him, that he knew that most of their * great Men were absent; and that it would be his best

* Arab. Kobarâo Asshhab Resoùl Allah, i. e. *the great Men of the Companions of the Apostle of God.*

beſt way to ſend for them as ſoon as he could, that having join'd their Forces, they might in a full Body give the Emperor's Army Battle. *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan* was then in *Balka*, a Territory upon the Confines of *Syria*; *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah* in *Paleſtine*; *Meâd* in *Harrân*; *Nomân Ebno'l Mundir* at *Tadmor*; and *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* in *Irâk*. Upon this *Caled* wrote the following Letter.

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From Caled Ebno'l Waled *to* Amrou Ebno'l Aâs, *Health and Happineſs. Know that thy Brethren the Muſlemans deſign to march to* Ajnadîn, *where there is an Army conſiſting of* 70000 Greeks, *who propoſe to come againſt us*, * that they may extinguiſh the Light of God with their Mouths; but God preſerveth his Light in ſpite of the Infidels. *As ſoon therefore as this Letter of mine ſhall come to thy Hands, come with thoſe that are with thee to* Ajnadîn, *where thou ſhalt find us, if it pleaſes the Moſt High God.*

* *Theſe Words are a Text of the* Alcoran. *See* Alcoran, *Chap.* IX. 32. & LXI. 8.

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Abubeker Alwákidi.

The like he ſent to the reſt of the Generals, and immediately gave Orders for the whole Army to march with Bag and Baggage. *Caled* himſelf went in the Front, and *Abu Obeidah* brought up the Rear. The *Damaſcens* perceiving the Siege raiſed, and their Enemies upon their March, took Courage, and ventured out upon them with an Army of ſix thouſand Horſe, and ten thouſand Foot; the Horſe under the Command of *Paul*; the Foot of *Peter*. As ſoon as *Paul* came up, he fell upon *Abu Obeidah*, and kept him employ'd, whilſt *Peter* went to ſeize the Spoil; for all their Baggage, and Wealth, and Women, and Children were in the Rear. *Peter* brought off a good part of it, and ſome of the Women; and taking a Guard both of Horſe and Foot, returned towards *Damaſcus*, leaving his Brother *Paul* with the reſt of the Army to engage the Muſlemans. *Paul* behaved himſelf ſo well, that he beat *Abu Obeidah*, and thoſe that were in the Rear, who now wiſh'd at his Heart that he had taken *Caled*'s Advice, when he would have perſwaded him at firſt to have marched in the Front, and would have brought

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

brought up the Rear himſelf. The Women and Children made grievous Lamentation, and all Things went ill on that ſide. Upon this *Saïd Ebn Sabàhh*, being well mounted, rode as hard as he could to the Front of the Army, where *Caled* was, and gave him an Account how Matters went; and deſired him with all poſſible ſpeed to ſuccour *Abu Obeidah*. *Well*, ſaid *Caled*, *God's will be done; I would have been in the Rear at firſt, but he would not let me; and now you ſee what is come on't.* Immediately he diſpatches *Raphi* with 2000 Horſe, to relieve the Saracens in the Rear, and after him *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* with 2000 more; then *Abdo'rrahmân* with 2000 more; then *Derar Ebno'l Azwâr* with 2000 more; the reſt of the Army he brought up himſelf. When *Raphi*, *Derar*, and *Abdo'rrahmân* came up, the State of the Matter was quite altered; and the Chriſtians which had the better of it before, were beaten down on every ſide, and their Standards and Colours turn'd upſide down. *Derar* purſu'd *Paul* the General, who durſt not encounter him; for he had ſeen how he behav'd himſelf at the Siege of *Damaſcus*, and

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

and heard how he had fought against *Werdàn*. *Derar* turn'd himself about, and said to *Abu Obeidah*, *Did not I tell you that this* * *Devil would not stand me?* and follow'd up closely. *Paul* being pursu'd hard, flung himself off from his Horse, and endeavoured to get away on Foot. *Derar* alighted too, and had just overtaken him, and was a going to chine him; but he cry'd out, *Hold! for in saving me, you save your Wives and Children which we have taken.* *Derar* upon this forbore, and took him Prisoner. The Christians were all routed; so that of those six thousand Horse which came out of *Damascus*, there escaped only one hundred; as they were afterwards informed when the City was taken.

* Arab, Shaithân, *which is the same with the Hebrew Word* Satan.

Among those other Captives which *Peter* had taken, it fortuned that *Caulah*, *Derar*'s Sister, a brave Virago, and a very beautiful Woman, was one. *Derar* was extreamly concern'd for the Loss of his Sister, and made his Complaint to *Caled*: Who bad him be of good cheer; *for*, says he, *we have taken their General, and some other Prisoners, which we shall exchange for our own; and there is no Question but we shall find them*

them all at Damaſcus. However, they reſolv'd to go and ſee if they could recover them before they got thither. *Caled*, *Raphi*, *Meiſarah*, and *Derar*, went in ſearch of the Captives; and ordered *Abu Obeidah* to march on ſlowly with the Army. There were among the Women which were taken Priſoners, ſome of the *Hamyarites* (a Tribe ſo called amongſt the *Arabs*) which the *Arabians* ſuppoſe to be deſcended from the ancient *Amalekites*. Theſe Women are uſed to ride on Horſeback, and fight as the *Amazons* did of old. *Peter*, when he had got his Priſoners and Plunder at ſome convenient Diſtance, did not make haſte to convey them to *Damaſcus*, but ſtay'd by the way, being deſirous, if poſſible, to hear of his Brother *Paul*'s Succeſs before he went home. Whilſt they reſted, they took an Account of the Women, and what elſe they had gotten; and *Peter* choſe *Caulah*, *Derar*'s Siſter, for himſelf, and told his Men, that ſhe, and no other ſhould be his, and no body's elſe. The reſt choſe each of them one as long as they laſted. The Greeks went into their Tents to refreſh themſelves, and in the mean time

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

time the Women got all together, and *Caulah* said to them: *What! will you suffer your selves to be abused by these Barbarians, and become Hand-maids and Slaves to these Idolaters? Where's your Courage? For my part, I'll sooner die than any of these Idolatrous Slaves shall touch me.* *Opheirah*, who was one of them, told her, that their Patience was not the Effect of Cowardice, but Necessity. *For*, says she, *we are defenceless; we have neither Sword nor Spear, nor Bow, nor any thing else. But cannot we*, says *Caulah*, *take each of us a Tent-pole, and stand upon our Guard? Who knows but that it may please God to give us the Victory, or deliver us by some means or other? If not, we shall die, and be at rest, and preserve the Honour of our Country.* *Opheirah* swore she was much in the right of it. They instantly resolv'd upon it, and provided themselves with Staves, and *Caulah* commanded in chief. *Come*, says she, *stand round in a Circle, and be sure you leave no Space between you for any of them to come in and do us a Mischief. Strike their Spears with your Staves, and break their Swords and their Skulls.* As she spoke, she stepped forwards one Step, and struck

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a Fellow that ſtood within her Reach, and ſhatter'd his Skull. Immediately there was a great Uproar, and the *Greeks* came running out of their Tents to ſee what was the Matter. When they came out, there ſtood the Women all up in Arms. *Peter* called out to *Caulah*, whom he had choſen for his Miſtreſs, *What's the Meaning of this, my Dear? Woe be to thee*, ſaid ſhe, *and to all of you, thou* * *Chriſtian Dog. The Meaning of it is, that we deſign to preſerve our Honour, and to beat your Brains out with theſe Staves: Come, why don't you come to your Sweet-heart now, for which you reſerved your ſelf? It may be you may receive ſomething at her Hands, which may prove worth your while. Peter* only laugh'd at her, and ordered his Men to compaſs them round, and not do them any Harm, but only take them Priſoners, and gave them an eſpecial Charge to be careful of his Miſtreſs. They endeavoured to obey his Commands, but with very ill Succeſs; for when any Horſeman came near the Women, they let drive at the Horſes Legs, and if they brought him down, his Rider was ſure to riſe no more. When *Peter* perceived that they were in earneſt,

Abubeker. Alwakidi.

* *Arab*, Ya kelbo'nnaſraniyah.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

neſt, he grew very angry, and alighted from his Horſe, and bad his Men do ſo too, and fall upon them with their Cymitars. The Women ſtood cloſe together, and ſaid one to another, *Come, let us die honourably, rather than live ſcandalouſly. Peter* look'd with a great deal of Concern upon his Miſtreſs, and when he view'd her Beauty and comely Proportion and Stature, loath to part with her, he came near, and gave her good Words, and would fain have perſwaded her to deſiſt from her Enterprize. He told her, that he was rich and honourable, that he had a great many fine Seats, and the like, which ſhould all be at her Service; and deſired her to take Pity of her ſelf, and not be acceſſary to her own Death. To which ſhe anſwered, *Thou Infidel, Scoundrel, vile Raſcal, why doſt not come a little nearer, that I may beat thy Brains out*? This nettled him to purpoſe; ſo he drew his Sword, and bad his Men fall upon them; and told them, that it would be a very ſcandalous thing to them in all the Neighbourhood of *Syria* and *Arabia*, if they ſhould be beaten by the Women. The Women were juſt now at their laſt Prayers, but they held up bravely;

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

bravely; and it happened fortunately, that whilst they were thus engaged, *Caled* and his Party came up. They wondered what was the Matter when they saw the Dust fly, and the Swords glitter. *Caled* sent *Raphi* to enquire into the Business; who rode in great haste, and came back quickly, and gave him an Account how things stood. *Caled* said, he did not at all wonder at it, for the Women of those Tribes were used to it. Assoon as *Derar* heard the News, he put forward his Horse in all haste to go and help the Women. *Softly*, Derar, *softly*, said *Caled*; *not so fast: A Man that goes leisurely about his Business, shall sooner gain his Point, than he that goes to work rashly.* *Derar* answered, *I han't Patience, I must go and help my Sister.* Then *Caled* set his Men in order, and commanded them, assoon as they came up, to encompass their Enemies. Assoon a *Caulah* saw the Saracens appear, she cried out, *Look ye, my Girls, God has sent us Help now.* When the *Greeks* saw the Saracens draw near, they were in a pitiful Condition, and began to look upon one another very sorrowfully. *Peter* was now willing to contrive some way for his

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

own Safety, and called out to the Women, *Hearkye*, said he, *I pity your Condition, for we have Sisters and Mothers, and Wives of our own; therefore I let you go freely for Christ's Sake: Wherefore, when your People come up, let them know how civil I have been to you.* Having said thus, he turned towards the Saracens, and saw two Horsemen coming apace before the rest. One of them (*Caled*) was compleatly armed, the other (*Derar*) naked, with a Lance in his Hand, upon a Horse without a Saddle. As soon as *Caulah* saw her Brother, she called out, *Come hither Brother, tho' God is sufficient without thy Help.* Then *Peter* called out to her, and said, *Get thee to thy Brother, I give thee to him*, and turn'd away to get off as fast as he could. She called after him, and said, *This Ficklenefs of yours is not like the Manner of us* Arabians; *Sometimes you are wonderfully fond of me, and express a great deal of Love, and then again you are as cold and indifferent as may be. Away with thee*, says he, *I am not so fond of thee now as I was before. Well*, says she, *I am fond of you, and must have you by all Means.* Then she ran up to him, and *Caled* and *Derar*

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

rar were just at hand. Assoon as *Peter* saw *Derar*, he called out to him, and said, *There's your Sister, take her, and much good may she do you; I make a Present of her to you. Derar* answered, *I thank you, Sir, I accept of your kind Present; but I have nothing to return you in lieu of it, but only the Point of this Spear, therefore be pleased to accept of it.* At the same time, *Caulah* struck the Legs of his Horse, and brought him down. *Derar* took him as he fell, and struck him through and through, and cut off his Head, and put it upon his Lance. Then all the Saracens fell on, and fought till they had killed 30 0 Men. The rest ran away, and the Saracens pursued them to the Gates of *Damascus*, and return'd enriched with Plunder, Horses and Armour. *Caled* now thought it high time to return to *Abu Obeidah*, fearing that *Werdàn* should have fallen upon him. They marched forthwith, and as soon as the Army saw *Caled* and his Company, they shouted out an *Allàh Acbar*, and *Caled* answered them again. When they came up to the Army, they gave them a particular Account of their whole Adventure, especially the Battle of the Women, with

Abubeker. Al wákidi.

which they made themſelves very merry. Then *Caled* called for *Paul*, who was taken Priſoner before, and bad him turn Mahometan, or elſe he would ſerve him as he had done his Brother. *What's that*? ſaid *Paul*. *Why*, ſays *Caled*, *I have killed him, and here is his Head.* When he ſaw the Head he wept, and ſaid, that he did not deſire to ſurvive him: Upon which *Caled* commanded him to be beheaded.

The above-mentioned Saracen Captains, which *Caled* wrote to, to meet him at *Ajnadîn*, prepared to come as ſoon as they had received the Letter: And that which was moſt remarkable, was, that tho' they were at Places of a different Diſtance, yet they all happen'd to meet there the ſame Day, being *Friday*, the 13th of *July*, in the Year 633, which they all interpreted as a ſingular Providence. The Armies came within Sight of one another, and the Saracens were ſomething at a ſtand, when they ſaw the Emperor's Army, conſiſting of no leſs than 70000. Thoſe who had been in *Perſia*, and ſeen the vaſt Armies of *Coſroes*, confeſſed that they had never ſeen any thing beyond this, either in reſpect of

Hegjrah 12th. A.D. 633.

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their Number, or Military Preparation. They sat down in sight of one another that Night, and early the next Morning prepared for the Battel. *Caled* rode about amongst the Ranks of his Men, and told them, "That they "now saw the biggest Army of the "Greeks, that ever they were like to "see; That if they came off Conque-"rors now, all was their own, and "nothing would be able to stand against "them for the time to come: *Therefore*, adds he, *fight in good earnest, and take Religion's Part: And* * *be sure that you do not turn your Backs, and so be damned for your Pains. Stand close together, and don't make any Assault, till you hear the Word of Command; and see that you mind your business, and have your Wits and your Hearts about you.* Nor was *Werdàn*, on the other side, negligent in encouraging his Men to do their best. He called his Officers together, and said, *You know that the Emperor has a great Concern upon him for you, and if you should shrink now you come to face your Enemies, and lose the Field, 'twould be such a Blow, as could never more be recovered, and these* Arabs *will take Possession of all, and kill your Men,*

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

* Alcoran, *Chap.* VIII. v. 15, 16.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

and make Slaves of your Wives and Children. All is now at Stake; therefore ſtand to it ſtoutly, and don't flinch, but fight unanimouſly and courageouſly: Beſides we have three to their one for your Comfort, and call upon Chriſt, and he will help you. *Caled* was very apprehenſive of that great Army, and therefore was willing to go to work as warily as he could. He asked his Men, which of them would go and take a View of the Army, and bring him an Account of their Order and Number? *Derar*, who was never backward in any thing that belong'd to a Soldier, proffer'd his Service. *Well then*, ſays *Caled*, *thou ſhalt go, and God go along with thee; but I charge thee*, Derar, *that thou do not aſſault them, nor ſtrike a Stroke without my Order, and ſo be acceſſary to thy own Deſtruction.* Away he goes, and views their Order, their Arms and Standards, and Banners diſplay'd and Colours flying. *Werdàn* caſt his Eye upon him, and imagining him to be a Scout, ſent a Party of 30 Horſe to ſeize him, and bring him into the Army. When they advanc'd, *Derar* ran away, and they after him, till he had drawn them a good way from the Army, and then he

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

he faced about, and fell upon them like a Lion. First he pushed one thorough with his Lance, and then another; and terrify'd them, and beat them grievously, till of thirty he had unhorsed seventeen. The rest fled before him, till they came pretty near the Grecian Camp, and then he turn'd off, and came back to *Caled*. *Did not I warn you not to fight without Order*? said *Caled*. *Nay*, said *Derar*, *I did not begin first, but they came out to take me, and I was afraid that God should see me turn my Back; and indeed I fought in good earnest, and without doubt God assisted me against them; and if it had not been for disobeying your Order, I should not have come away as I did; and I perceive already that they will fall into our Hands.*

Then *Caled* set his Army in good Order. *Meâd Ebn Jabal*, and *Nomân Ebno'lmokarren* led the Right Wing; and *Saïd Ebn Amer*, and *Serjabil Ebn Hasanah* the Left. *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan* with four thousand Horse guarded the Baggage, Women and Children. *Caulah* and *Opheirah*, and several other Women of the highest Rank and chief Families of the *Arabian* Tribes, with a great many more of inferiour Note,

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Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

prepared themselves for the Battel. *Caled* turn'd about to them, and said, *Noble Girls, assure your selves, that what you do is very acceptable to God and his Apostle, and the Muslemans; you will hereby purchase a lasting Memory, and the Gates of Paradise will be opened to you. And assure your selves, that I repose a great deal of Confidence in you. If any Party of the Greeks fall upon you, fight for your selves; and if you see any of the Muslemans turn his Back, slay him, and ask him, whether he runs from his Family and Children; for by this means you will encourage the Muslemans to fight. Opheirah* told him, that they were all ready to fight till they died.

Then he rode about, and encouraged his Men, and bad them fight for the sake of their Wives and Children, and Religion, and stand close to it; for if they were beaten, they had no Place to escape to, nor any thing left to trust to. After this he went into the main Body of the Army, and stood there with *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs Abdo'rrahmân* the Caliph's Son, *Kais Ebn Hobeirah*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*, and several other Saracens of Note. The two Armies cover'd all the Plains; The Christians

Abubeker Alwákidí.

ſtians made a great Noiſe, and the Saracens repeated as faſt as they could, *La I'laha illa Allàh, Mohammed Reſoul Allàh*: That is, *There is but one God*; Mahomet *is the Apoſtle of God.* Our Author tells us, that juſt before the Battle began, there came out a grave old Man from the Chriſtian Army, and went towards the Saracens, and enquired for the General? *Caled* came forth to him, and the old Man asked him, if he was the General? *They look upon me as ſuch* (ſaid *Caled*) *ſo long as I continue in my Duty towards God, and the Obſervance of what he has left us by his Prophet* Mahomet *of bleſſed Memory; otherwiſe I have no Command or Authority over them.* The old Man told him, that they were come to invade a Land, which had been attempted oftentimes before, but with very ill Succeſs. That, thoſe who had undertook the Conqueſt of it, had found their Sepultures in that very Place where they deſigned to erect their Empire. That tho' they had lately obtain'd a Victory over the Chriſtians, yet they muſt not expect that the Advantage would long continue on their ſide; That the Emperor had

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Abubeker. Alwákidi.

ſent a very numerous Army: That the General however had ſent him to acquaint him, that if they would depart without any Acts of Hoſtility, he would preſent every Saracen in the Army with a Suit of Cloaths, a Turbant, and a Piece of Money, and the General himſelf with ten Suits, and an hundred Pieces. And to their Maſter *Abubeker*, the Caliph, an hundred Suits, and a thouſand Pieces. *No*, ſaid the Saracen, *no Peace, but either become Tributaries forthwith, or elſe* Mahometans; *otherwiſe the Sword muſt determine the Controverſy between us. And as for your great Army that you ſpeak of; we are promis'd the Victory by our Prophet* Mahomet, *in the Book which was ſent down to him. And then for your Proffer of giving us Veſts, Turbants and Money; we ſhall in a ſhort time be Maſters of all your Cloaths, and all the good Things you have about you. Meâd* encouraged the Saracens with the Hopes of Paradiſe, and the Enjoyment of everlaſting Life, if they fought for the Cauſe of God and Religion. *Softly*, ſaid *Caled, let me get them all into good Order before you ſet them upon fighting.* When he had done ſetting them in Order, he ſaid,

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

ſaid, *Look to it, for your Enemies are two to your one, and there is no breaking them, but by out-winding them. Hold out till the Evening, for that is the time in which the Prophet obtained the Victory. Have a care you don't turn your Backs, for God ſees you.* The Armies were now come very near, and the Armenian Archers ſhot at the Saracens, and killed and wounded a great many; but *Caled* would not let a Man ſtir. *Derar*, at laſt, impatient of Delay, ſaid, *What do we ſtand ſtill for? The Enemy will think we are afraid of him; prithee give us the Word of Command, and let us go.* *Caled* gave him leave, and he began the Battle; and in a little time a great Part of both the Armies were engaged, and a great many fell on both ſides, but more Chriſtians than Saracens. *Werdàn* perceiving the great Diſadvantage his Men laboured under, was in great Perplexity, and adviſed with his Officers what was beſt to be done. For no Art of a General, nor any Terms he could propoſe, were ſufficient to encourage the Chriſtians, to fight ſo deſperately as the Saracens, who cared not for their Lives, being all of them fully

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

fully perſwaded, that whoſoever was killed in fighting for the Propagation of their Religion, ſhould certainly receive a Crown of Martyrdom. And it is moſt true, that nothing will make Men expoſe themſelves unconcernedly to the greateſt Dangers, like a Spirit of Enthuſiaſm. It was agreed, that the beſt thing they could do, would be to circumvent the General of the Saracens by ſome Stratagem, which would extreamly diſcourage the reſt, and falicitate the Victory. This was attempted after this manner: A Meſſenger was to be ſent to *Caled*, to deſire him to ſound a Retreat, and let the Battle ceaſe for that Day, and meet *Werdàn* the next Morning, at a certain Place within View of both the Armies, where they, the two Generals alone, might treat, in order to find out ſome Expedient for the preventing the Effuſion of ſo much Blood, as muſt of neceſſity be loſt on both ſides, if the War continu'd. There was to be an Ambuſcade of ten Men conveniently placed, to ſeize the Saracen. The Meſſage was delivered to one *David*, who was privy to the Secret. When he had received his Errand, he went and enqui-

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red for *Caled*, who rode to him, and with a ſtern Look preſented his Lance. *Sir*, ſaid *David*, *I am no Soldier, but have only a Meſſage to deliver to you; therefore pray turn your Lance away whilſt I am talking with you.* Upon which *Caled* laid his Lance a-croſs upon the Pummel of his Saddle, and ſaid, *Speak to the Purpoſe then, and tell no Lyes. So I will*, ſays *David*, *if you will promiſe me Security for my ſelf and my Family.* Which *Caled* had no ſooner done, but he acquainted him thoroughly with the whole Buſineſs. *Well*, ſaid *Caled*, *go and tell him, it ſhall be ſo.* Preſently after *Abu Obeidah* met *Caled*, and obſerving an unuſual Briskneſs and Gaiety in his Countenance, asked him, What was the Matter? *Caled* told him the Contrivance, and added, *I durſt venture to go alone, and engage to bring thee all their Heads along with me. Abu Obeidah* told him, that he was a Perſon likely enough to do ſuch a thing; but ſince the Prophet had no where commanded them to expoſe themſelves to unneceſſary Danger, he would have him take ten Men to anſwer them. *Derar* thought it not the beſt way to defer it till the Morning, but

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

but was for going that Evening to surprise that Ambuscade. Having obtained Leave, he went, after it was dark, towards the Place whither *Werdàn* had sent his Ambuscade before. When he came near, he ordered his Men to stand still, whilst he went to observe their Posture. Then he put off his Cloaths (for he was as often used to go without as with) and took his Sword, and went creeping along, till he came so near as to hear them snoar, for they were all drunk, and asleep, and their Arms lay under their Heads. Having so fair an Opportunity, he had much ado to forbear killing them himself; but considering that one of them might possibly awaken the other, he came back, and brought his Companions along with him, who took each of them his Man, and dispatched the Ambuscade with all imaginable Silence and Secrecy. The next thing to be done, was to strip these Men, and put on their Cloaths, for fear any of the Greeks should chance to come by the Place, and seeing them in their *Arabian* Habit, make a Discovery. *Derar* told them, that it was a good Omen, and that

that he did not at all queſtion, but that God would fulfil his Promiſe to them.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

About break of Day, *Caled* ſaid the Morning Prayer in the Camp, and drew up his Army in order of Battle: Then he put on a yellow Silk Veſt and a green Turbant. Aſſoon as the Chriſtians ſaw the Saracens in order, *Werdàn* ſent an Horſeman, who rode up to the Front of the Saracen Army, and cried out, *Heark ye you* Arabians; *Is this fair Play? Have you forgot your Agreement you made with us Yeſterday? How!* ſaid *Caled*; *what! charge us with Breach of Promiſe? The General*, anſwered the Meſſenger, *expects you ſhould be as good as your Word, and meet him in order to treat of a Peace. Go and tell him*, ſays *Caled*, *that I am juſt a coming*. Quickly after, *Caled* ſaw *Werdàn* go out upon a Mule, very richly dreſſed and adorned with Golden Chains and precious Stones. *Hah!* ſays he, *this will be all ours by and by, if it pleaſe God.* Then he went after him, and when he was almoſt at him, they both alighted. When *Werdàn* had drawn him pretty near the Place where the Ambuſh lay; they ſat down oppoſite to

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

one another to discourse, but *Werdàn* still kept his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword, for fear the Saracen should chance to fall upon him on a sudden. *Come*, says *Caled*, *now let us hear what you have to say; but be sure you deal fairly, and like a Man, and tell no Lyes; for it does not at all become Men in eminent Stations to deal deceitfully, and use Tricks. What I desire of you*, said *Werdàn, is, that you would let us know what you would have, and come to some reasonable Terms, that we may have Peace, and live at quiet on both Sides; and what soever you desire of us, we will give you freely, for we know that you are a poor sort of People, and live in a barren Country, and in great Scantiness and Scarcity; therefore if a small Matter will content you, we will give it you willingly. Alas! for thee, thou Christian Dog*, said *Caled, we bless God that he has provided a great deal better for us than to live upon your Charity, and what you please to spare; for he has given all that you have freely to us, nay even your Wives and your Children to be divided among st us, unless you can say*, LA ILAHA, &c. There is but one God, *Mahomet* is the Apostle of God: *Or if you do not like that, pay Tribute. If*

that

that will not do, then let the Sword determine between us, and God give the Victory to which Side he pleases. There are no other Terms to be had of us. As for your talking of Peace to us, we for our parts take more delight in War; and for your saying that we are such a contemptible People, I would have you know that we reckon you no better than Dogs. You see I don't talk like a Man that is much inclined to Peace; and if the Meaning of your calling me hither, was, that you might have me alone; here we are in a Place by our selves, far enough both from my Army and yours: Come and fight with me if you dare. Immediately upon this, *Werdàn* rose up, but trusting to the Ambuscade, made no haste to draw his Sword. *Caled* seized him forthwith, and shook him, and turned him about every way. Then he cried out, *Come out, come hither, this* Arab *has seized me.* Assoon as they heard his Voice, they came forth, and *Werdàn*, at first Sight, took them to be his own Men; but when they came nearer, and he saw *Derar* before them, with nothing on but a Pair of Breeches, and shaking his Sword at him, he began to be extreamly uneasy, and said to *Caled*, *I beg of you not to deliver me into the*

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

† Arab. Shaithàn.

Hands of that * *Devil*; *I hate the Sight of him, it was he that killed my Son.* *Caled* ſwore by God, that when he came up, he would kill him too. By this time *Derar* was come up, and ſaid, *Now thou curſed Wretch, what is become of thy Deceit, with which thou would'ſt have enſnared the Companions of the Apoſtle of God?* And was juſt a going to kill him. *Hold*, ſaid *Caled*, *let him alone till I give you the Word.* When he ſaw himſelf in the midſt of his Enemies, he fell upon the Ground, and began to cry *Quarter*: But *Caled* anſwered, *Là Amân illà Beïmân*; *No Quarter*, (or *Security*) *where there is no Faith kept. You pretended to Peace, and at the ſame time deſigned to murther me treacherouſly.* The Word was no ſooner out of his Mouth, but *Derar* ſtruck his Head off. Then they ſtript him, and put his Head upon the Point of *Caled*'s Lance, and marched towards the Army. As ſoon as the Chriſtians eſpied them, they thought they had been their own Men, and that *Werdàn* had brought the Saracen's Head along with him. The Saracens thought ſo too, and were under great Concern for *Caled*. Aſſoon as ever they came near, they charged the Chri-

Christians, and *Abu Obeidah* (who commanded the Army in *Caled*'s Absence) knew them, and told his Men. Then they fell on, and engaged in all Parts with all the Vigor imaginable. The Fight, or rather the Slaughter, continued till Evening. The Christian Army was entirely routed and defeated. The Saracens killed that Day fifty thousand Men. Those that escaped fled some of them to *Cæsarea*, others to *Damascus*, and some to *Antioch*. The Saracens took Plunder of inestimable Value, and a great many Banners, and Crosses made of Gold and Silver, precious Stones, Silver and Gold Chains, rich Cloaths, and Arms without Number; which *Caled* said he would not divide till *Damascus* was taken. Upon this *Caled* sends a Messenger with the following Letter, to *Abubeker* the Caliph.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

" From the Servant of God, *Caled* " *Ebn Waled*, to the Successor of the " Apostle of God, upon whom be the " Blessing of God. I praise God, who " is the only God, and there is none

Abubeker. Alwâkdi.

"other besides him; and I pray for "his Prophet *Mahomet*, upon whom "be the Blessing of God: And I praise "him, and give Thanks to him still "more, for his delivering the True "Believers, and destroying the Idola-"ters, and extinguishing the Light of "those that err. I acquaint thee, O "Emperor of the Faithful, that we "met with the Grecian Army at *Aj-*"*nadîn*, with *Werdân* the Prefect of "*Hems*; and they swore * by Christ, "that they would not run away, nor "turn their Backs, tho' they were kil-"led to the last Man: So we fell "upon them, calling upon God, and "trusting upon him, and God sup-"ported us, and gave us the Victory, "and our Enemies were decreed to be "overcome, and we killed them on "all Sides, to the Number of fifty thou-"sand Men; and we lost of the Muslemans in two Battles four hundred "and seventy four Men; and this "Letter is written on the fifth Day of "the Week, being the thirtieth of the "first *Jomâdah*; and we are now re-"turning to *Damascus*, if it please God. "Pray for our Success and Prospe-"rity. Farewell. The Peace and "Bles-

Arab. Bidinihim, *i. e. by their Religion.*

" Bleſſing of God be upon thee and " all the Muſlemans.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

As ſoon as the Meſſenger told the Caliph the News, he fell down and worſhipped God. Then he opened the Letter, and read it over firſt to himſelf, and then to thoſe that were about him. The News immediately flew through all the Country; and the hungry *Arabians* came thronging to *Medinah*, to beg Leave of the Caliph to go into *Syria*, all of them expecting great Places and large Poſſeſſions, and were very willing to exchange the uncultivated Deſarts of *Arabia Petræa*, for the Delicacies of *Damaſcus*. *Omar* did by no means approve of their Motion, but ſaid to *Abubeker*, " You know what ſort " of Fellows theſe were to us, when " time was: When they were able to " oppoſe us, and we were but few in " Number, they endeavour'd to the " utmoſt of their Power, to ruin our Re- " ligion, and put out the Light of God, " and when they did turn, it was only " to ſave themſelves; and now they ſee " God has been pleaſed to bleſs our For- " ces with Succeſs, they are willing to " ſhare in the Spoil, and they'll go

Abubeker. Alwakidi.

"and made a Disturbance among those "who have got it with their Swords. "Therefore I pray let none of them "go; but let those that have won it, "wear it. *Abubeker* was of his Mind. As soon as the Inhabitants of *Meccah* heard it, they were greatly concerned, and thought themselves very much affronted. Some of the *Coreishæ* (a noble Tribe among the *Arabs*, and which had violently opposed *Mahomet* at his first setting out, and made him fly from *Meccah* to *Medinah*) came in a Body, to make their Complaint to *Abubeker* the *Caliph*, whom they found sitting with some Muslemans, and *Ali* on his Right-Hand, and *Omar* on his Left. When they had paid due Reverence to the Caliph, *Abu Sophyan* accosted *Omar* after this manner. *'Tis true, in the * Times of Ignorance, there us'd to be Clashing and Difference amongst us; and we did what we could against you, and you the like to us. But now since it has pleased God to direct us both into the true Religion, that ought to destroy all Hatred and Animosities between us. For the Faith destroys Hatred and Variance, as well as Idolatry. And yet you continue your Hatred still, not-*

* *So they call all the Time before* Mahomet.

Abubeker Alwákidi.

notwithstanding we are your Brethren in Religion, and your near Relations besides. What is the Meaning of this Spight both formerly and now? Is it not time to purify your Hearts from Envy? That you did come into the Profession of the true Religion before us we confess, and are willing upon that score, to pay you all the Respect which is due. Having said thus, he held his Peace, and *Arak* commended him, and seconded him. Then *Abu Sophyan* desired the *Caliph* and all the Muslemans to bear witness, that he took upon himself freely to fight for the Cause of God: The like did all the Chief of *Meccah* which were present. This satisfy'd the *Caliph*, and made him be content to let them go. Upon which he prayed to God to confirm them in their good Resolutions, and bless them with answerable Success. Then he wrote a Letter to *Caled*; in which he acquainted him, that he had received his with great Satisfaction; and that he had sent to him some of the Chief of *Meccah*, and the adjacent Country, particularly *Amrou Ebn Maadi*, and *Malek Alashtar*: And order'd him, after he had conquer'd *Damascus*, to go on to *Hems*, *Mearrah* and *Antioch*;

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

och; and bad him be kind to the Muſlemans, and think upon Mortality, and ſo concluded. When he had done, he ſeal'd it with *Mahomet*'s Seal, and deliver'd it to *Abdo'rrahmân*, the ſame that brought him the Letter from *Caled*.

When *Caled* ſent the Letter to *Abubeker*, he was upon his March from *Ajnadîn* to *Damaſcus*. The poor Inhabitants had heard the lamentable News of the Loſs of the Emperor's General and Army. In the mean time, whileſt the Saracens were abſent, a great many of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, to ſecure themſelves, got into *Damaſcus*. The Return of the Saracens was expected daily, and all manner of Warlike Preparation was made for the enduring a Siege. Their Engines were planted upon the Walls, and Banners diſplay'd. In a little time their Hearts aked, when they ſaw the Saracens appear with a formidable Army, fluſhed with Succeſs, and enriched with the Spoils of their Countrymen and Neighbours, *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* led the Front, conſiſting of above nine Thouſand Horſe. After him came *Abu Sophyan* with two Thouſand: Then *Serjabil Ebn Haſa-*

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nah (who was one of *Mahomet*'s Secretaries when he wrote the *Alcoran* :) After him *Omar Ebn Rebiyah. Caled* marched in the Rear, and brought up the reſt of the Army under the Standard of the Black Eagle. When they were within a Mile of the City, *Caled* called all the Generals together, and gave them their reſpective Charges, and ſaid to *Abu Obeidah*, " You know " very well the Villainy and Deceit of " theſe People, and how they came " and fell upon our Rear, as we were " in our March to *Ajnadin*. Have a " care of them therefore, and don't be " ſo favourable, nor agree to give them " Security, for they will certainly play " ſome Trick with you. Go and ſit " down before the Gate *Jabiyah*, at a " good Diſtance, and aſſault them fre- " quently, and don't let the Length " of the Time make you uneaſie, for " Victory is the Reward of Patience. *Abu Obeidah* went according to Order, and pitched his Tent, which was made of Hair; for he would by no means ſuffer them to ſet up one of thoſe rich Tents which they had taken from the Greeks at *Ajnadin*. Which my Author ſays, " Proceeded from his great Hu- " mility

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

*Arab. Kesça'lamali.

"mility to God, and the *Shortness "of his Hope, and that he might not "please himself with the gay Things "of this World, and the Possessions of "it. For they did not fight for Domi-"nion, but in Hopes of receiving a Re-"ward from God, and having their "Portion in a future State. And they "used to set those Tents and Spoil "which they had taken, at a great "Distance from them; and if at any "time they found any Victuals of the "Christians, they would not eat it, "because the Name of God was not "mention'd over it when it was killed. *Abu Sophyan* was placed over against the *Little Gate*; *Serjabil Ebn Hasanah* at St. *Thomas* his Gate with 2000 Horse; *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* at *Paradise* Gate; *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* sat down before the Gate *Kaisân*. There was another which was called St. *Mark*'s Gate; were there was never any fighting, (whether because of the Incommodiousness of the Place, or for what other Reason, I know not) which upon that Account was called *Babo'-'salâmah*, *The Gate of Peace*. After he had given Orders to all the Officers, he went himself and sat down before the East Gate.

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Then he call'd *Derar* to him; and gave him the Command of 2000 Horſe, and ordered him to keep riding round about the Camp, and never ſtand ſtill long in any Place, for fear any Succours ſhould come from the Emperor, and ſurprize the Camp: *And* (ſays he) *if they be too hard for thee, ſend to me, and I'll help thee. I ſuppoſe then* (ſaid *Derar*) *that I am to ſtand ſtill the mean while*! *No, no,* (ſaid *Caled*) *I don't mean ſo neither.* There were none of the Saracens on Horſe-back, but thoſe which were with *Derar*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to ride round the Camp, and guard it: For the Saracens, if they engaged Horſe, uſed their Horſes: If otherwiſe, they for the moſt part fought on Foot. *Caled* having thus formed his Siege, the next Morning early the Beſieged ſally'd out, and the Fight continu'd 'till the Evening. That ſame Day *Caled* received *Abubeker*'s Letter, and after the Fight was over, ſent it to the Generals, who were poſted at the ſeveral Gates.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

The poor Inhabitants perceiving themſelves now beſieged in good earneſt, began to think of coming to Terms, and rather ſubmit to pay Tribute,

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

bute, and so secure their Lives and Fortunes; than by standing it out, expose themselves to inevitable Death. The chief of them met, and a considerable part of them were very much inclined to surrender. *Thomas*, the Emperor's Son-in-law, lived then in *Damascus*, but as a private Man, not in any Commission; for tho' the Emperor had offer'd him honourable Posts, he refused to accept of any Employment; but was nevertheless a Person of great Courage, and an excellent Soldier. Out of Respect to his Quality and Abilities, the Citizens thought it advisable to do nothing rashly, without having first consulted him. When they came to his Palace, he seem'd to wonder, *That these vile* Arabs, *poor Wretches, naked and barefoot, and far from compleatly arm'd, should be able to put them in such a Consternation.* He told them, *That the* Arabs *were Masters of no Courage, but what was wholly owing to their Fear: That there was a great deal of Difference, both in respect of Number, Arms, and every thing else that made an Army considerable, between them and the* Damascens. Adding, *That they had no reason to Despair of the Victory.* The Citi-

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Citizens told him, with Submiſſion, that he was under a great Miſtake: *For the late Victories of the* Arabs *had furniſhed them very well with Arms. Beſides,* (ſaid they) *they all fight like mad Men; for they encounter us naked, or any way, tho under never ſo great Diſadvantages; for they ſtedfaſtly believe, that every one of their own Men that is killed, paſſes immediately to Paradiſe, and every one of ours to Hell; and this makes them deſperate.* To which *Thomas* anſwered, *That it was plain from thence, that they had no true Courage, who were forced to make uſe of ſuch an Artifice to encourage themſelves to fight. Well, Sir,* ſaid they, *if you will be pleaſed to help us, and put us in a way to make a Defence, we ſhall be at your Service, otherwiſe we muſt ſurrender. Thomas* was afraid they ſhould be in earneſt; and, after a little Pauſe, he promiſed to go out with them the next Morning.

They kept Watch all the Night, and ſupply'd the Abſence of the Sun with numberleſs Lights placed in the Turrets. The Saracens were encouraging one another to do their utmoſt againſt the Enemies of God, as they uſed to call all but themſelves. In the Morn-

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Abubeker. Alwákidi.

ing early they prepared for Battle; and the Saracens were ready to make a General Assault. All the Generals said their Prayers among their Men, and *Caled* bad them hold out, *for they should rest after Death*; adding, *That is the best Rest which shall never be succeeded by any Labour*. *Thomas* was ready in the Morning, and just as he was a going out, they set up a Crucifix at the Gate, and the Bishop, attended with some other of the Clergy, brought the New-Testament, and placed it at a little Distance from the Crucifix. As *Thomas* went out at the Gate, he laid his Hand upon the Cover of the Testament, and said, *O God! If our Religion to be true, help us, and deliver us not into the Hand of our Enemies; but overthrow the Oppressor, for thou knowest him. O God help those which profess the Truth, and are in the right way*. *Serjabil* heard him say something, but could not tell what; and when *Romanus* (who was the treacherous Governour of *Bostra*, and used to be their Interpreter) had explain'd it to him, he was very angry, and cried out; *Thou liest, thou Enemy of God; for Jesus is of no more account with God than* Adam. *He created him*

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

him out of the Duſt, and made him a living Man, walking upon the Earth, and afterwards raiſed him to Heaven. The Battel was joined forthwith, and *Thomas* fought admirably well; he was an incomparable Archer, and ſhot a great many of the Saracens. Among the reſt he wounded *Abân Ebn Saïd* with a Poiſon'd Arrow. *Abân* drew out the Arrow, and unfolding his Turbant, bound up the Wound. But he quickly felt the Effect of the Poiſon in his Body, and not being able to hold up any longer, was carried into the Camp, where his Friends would by all means unbind the Wound, to dreſs it; but he told them, if they did, he ſhould die inſtantly. Which accordingly happen'd, for they had no ſooner open'd it, but he immediately languiſhed; and when he could ſpeak no longer, continued teſtifying, by Signs, the Stedfaſtneſs of his Belief in God and *Mahomet*. He was newly married; no longer ago than when the Saracens were at *Ajnadîn*, to a brave Virago, one of the fighting ſort, who could uſe a Bow and Arrows very well. As ſoon as ſhe heard the News of his Death, ſhe came running in great Haſte, and

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

when ſhe ſaw him, ſhe bore it with admirable Patience, and ſaid, *Happy art thou, my Dear, thou art gone to thy Lord, who firſt joined us together, and then parted us aſunder: I will revenge thy Death, and endeavour to the utmoſt of my Power to come to the Place where thou art, becauſe I love thee. Henceforth ſhall no Man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated my ſelf to the Service of God.* Then they waſhed him (as 'tis their Cuſtom) and buried him forthwith with the uſual Solemnities. She never wept nor wail'd, but with a Courage above what could be expected from the Weakneſs of her Sex, armed her ſelf with his Weapons, and went into the Battel, without *Caled*'s notice. When ſhe came into the Field, ſhe asked whereabouts it was that *Abân* was kill'd. They told her, over againſt St. *Thomas* his Gate, and that *Thomas*, the Emperor's Son in law, was the Man that did it. Away ſhe went towards the Place, and with the firſt Arrow ſhot the Standard-Bearer in the Hand. The Standard fell down, and the Saracens inſtantly ſnatch'd it up, and carried it off. *Thomas* was grievouſly concern'd at the Loſs of the Standard, and laid about him

him furiouſly, and ordered his Men to look about them narrowly, to ſee if they could find it any where, and retake it, if poſſible. When the Saracens that had it ſaw themſelves hard beſet, they ſhifted it from one to another, till it came into *Serjabil*'s Hands. The *Damaſcens* follow'd *Thomas* with a great deal of Courage and Vigour, and there began a moſt bloody Battel; and all the while the Engines play'd from the Walls, upon the Saracens, and threw Stones and Arrows as thick as Hail. They plied them ſo well from the Walls, that the Saracens were forced to retreat, and fight out of the reach of the Engines. *Thomas* at laſt ſpied the Standard in *Serjabil*'s Hand, and made up to him, and fell upon him like a Lion. Upon which *Serjabil* threw the Standard away, and engaged his Adverſary. Whileſt they were fighting, and every one admir'd *Thomas* his Valour, *Abân*'s Wife ſaw him, and asked who it was: They told her, it was the ſame Man that killed her Husband. As ſoon as ſhe heard that, ſhe levelled an Arrow at him, and ſhot him into the Eye; ſo that he was forc'd to retire into the City. The Saracens

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

followed him close, and killed 300 in the Pursuit, and would have gone after him further, but they durst not for the Engines.

Thomas had his Eye dressed, but would by no means be perswaded to go to his House, tho' the Inhabitants of the Town intreated him very much, and told him, that there was no Good to be done with these *Arabs*, but that the best way would be to surrender the Town. But he, being a Man of undaunted Courage and Resolution, said, they would not come off so; that they should not take his Standard and put his Eye out unrevenged. He consider'd what Reflection it would be upon his Honour, and how the Emperor would look upon it, if he should suffer himself to be disheartned and daunted by the *Arabs*. The Battel continued till Night parted them; *Thomas* all the while continued in the Gate, meditating Revenge. When it was dark, he sent for the Chief Men of the City, and not at all daunted, said to them, *Look ye, you have to do with a People, who have neither good manners, nor Religion, nor any Faith or Honesty belonging to them*, (for which Words my Author is

is very angry with him, and gives him an hearty * Curse) *and if they should make any Agreement with you, and give you Security, they'll never stand to their Word, but lay the Country waste: And how can you bear to see what is dearest to you invaded, and your poor Children made Slaves, and your selves turned out of House and Harbour, and deprived of all the Conveniencies of Life?* They told him, they were ready at his Service, either to fight upon the Walls, or to sally. Then he ordered them every Man to make ready with all possible speed, and all the Silence imaginable, that they might not give the least Alarm to the Saracens. All the armed Men were drawn up at the several Gates, and upon a Signal given by one single Stroke upon a Bell, the Gates were all opened at the same instant; the Christians (some few only excepted, who were left to secure the Gates and the Walls) sallied out all together, and poured in upon the Saracen Camp like a Torrent, in hopes of finding them wounded and tired, and altogether unprovided to receive so vigorous an Attack. The whole Camp was immediately alarmed; and assoon as *Caled*

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

* *Arab.* Kádaba'llaïn Achzâho'llâh; *that is,* The accursed (*meaning* Thomas) lyed. God confound him.

Abubeker. Alwákidi,

knew it, he ſaid, *O God, who never ſleepeſt, look upon thy Servants, and do not deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies.* Then he order'd *Pheljân Ebn Zeyâd* to ſupply his Place, and rode with 400 Men as faſt as he could, and the Tears lay upon his Cheeks for the Concern he had upon him for his dear Saracens. The Care of *Serjabil* and *Abu Obeidah* made him very anxious, being well aware of *Thomas*'s Valour. When he came near the Gate, he found how things ſtood; *Thomas* had fallen violently upon the Saracens, and before he came out, commanded his Men to give Quarter to none but the General. The *Jews*, which were in *Damaſcus*, plaid the Engines upon the Saracens. *Thomas* was again engag'd with his former Adverſary *Serjabil*. *Abân*'s Wife was among *Serjabil*'s Men, and did great Execution with her Bow and Arrows, till ſhe had ſpent them all but one, which ſhe kept to make Signs with as ſhe ſaw Occaſion. Preſently one of the Chriſtians advanced up towards her, ſhe ſhot him in the Throat, and killed him, and was then taken Priſoner. *Serjabil* at laſt ſtruck a violent Stroke, which *Thomas* receiving upon

upon his Buckler, *Serjabil*'s Sword broke. *Thomas* thought himself sure of him, and had certainly either killed him, or taken him Prisoner, but *Abdo'rrahmân* and *Abân* (*Othman*'s Son, who was afterwards Caliph) came up at that instant with a Regiment of fresh Horse, and rescued both him and *Abân*'s Wife. *Thomas* perceiving the Saracens came in so fast upon him, retired into the City. We said before that *Abu Obeidah* was posted at the Gate *Jabiyah*; he was in his Tent when the Christians first sallied out, and went to Prayers. Afterwards, whilst his Men were engaged, he took a Party, and got between the Christians and the City; so that they were surrounded, and charged on both Sides. They made a quick dispatch of them, for never a Man that went out at that Gate, returned again: And tho' those that sallied at the other Gates escaped something better, yet the Christians had no Reason to boast of any Advantage, having lost that Night several thousand Men.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

The Christians now quite disheartned, came about *Thomas*, with repeated Intreaties to surrender; they told

Abubeker, Alwákidi.

him, they had loſt above half their Men, and what were left were not ſufficient for the Defence of the Town: They told him at laſt, in plain Terms, that as to what concern'd himſelf, he might manage as he pleas'd, but for their Parts they were reſolved to get as good Terms for themſelves as they could. *Thomas*, however, endeavour'd to perſwade them to ſtay till he ſhould write to the Grecian Emperor, and accordingly did write. The Saracens continued fighting hard, and reduced the Beſieged to very great Streights, who now every Day made a worſe Defence than other. They deſired *Caled* to leave off the Aſſault, that they might have a little time to conſider: But he turn'd a deaf Ear to them, for he had rather take them by Force, put them to the Sword, and let his Saracens have the Plunder, than that they ſhould ſurrender, and have ſecurity for themſelves and their Fortunes. But *Abu Obeidah* was of a quite different Diſpoſition, a well meaning, merciful Man, who had rather at all times that they ſhould ſurrender, and become Tributaries, than be expoſed to any Extremity; and this the Beſieged knew very well: Where-

Wherefore, one Night they sent a Messenger that understood *Arabick*, out at that Gate where *Abu Obeidah* was posted, who called out to the Centinels, and desired safe Conduct for some of the Inhabitants of *Damascus* to come to their Master *Abu Obeidah*, in order to talk of an Agreement. Assoon as *Abu Obeidah* was acquainted with the News, he was very glad to hear it, and sent *Abu Hobeirah* to the *Damascens*, to let them know that they should have free Liberty to go where they pleased. They asked him whether or no he was one of *Mahomet*'s Companions, that they might depend upon him? He told them, that he was, but that made no Difference; for if the meanest Slave among them had given them Security, it would have been all one, for they should have perform'd it, because God had said, in the Book which he sent to their Prophet *Mahomet*, * *Perform your Covenant, for that shall be called to an Account.* Upon this, about an hundred of the Chief of the Citizens and Clergy went out, and when they came near the Camp some of the Saracens met them, and took off their Circingles, and conducted them to *Abu Obeidah*'s Tent;

Abubeker. Alwakidi.

* Alcoran Chap. XVII. 36.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Tent; who uſed them very civilly, and bad them ſit down, and told them, that their Prophet *Mahomet* had commanded them to pay Reſpect to Perſons of Rank and Quality. They were very glad to find him ſo courteous, and when they came to talk of Terms, they firſt deſired that their Churches might be ſecured to them, and not any way alienated. He granted them ſeven Churches, and gave them a Writing, but did not ſet his own Name to it, nor any Witneſſes, becauſe he was not General. Then he went, attended with about an hundred Men, to take Poſſeſſion. When he came to the Gates, he demanded Hoſtages; which being delivered, he enter'd into the City.

Caled was altogether ignorant of this Tranſaction, and was, at the very ſame time when this Buſineſs was concluded, making a ſharp Aſſault at the Eaſt Gate, being eſpecially provoked at the Loſs of *Caled Ebn Saïd*, (*Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* his Brother, by the Mother's Side) whom one of the Beſieged had ſhot with a poiſon'd Arrow. In the mean time, there came to *Caled* from the Town one *Joſias* a Prieſt, who told him, that having been long converſant with ancient

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

ancient Writings and Prophecies, and especially the Prophet *Daniel*, he was abundantly satisfied of the future Greatness of the Saracen Empire; and proffer'd his Service to introduce him and his Army into the Town, upon Condition that *Caled* would grant him Security for him and his. Whether any Conviction that he had met with in reading that Prophet, or the Desire he had to preserve himself, was the prevailing Motive with him, I shall not determine. Neither did *Caled* much trouble himself about that, but gave him his Hand to perform the Condition, and sent with him an hundred Men, most of them *Homerites*, (a warlike Tribe of the *Arabs*) and bad them as soon as they were enter'd to cry out as loud as they could *Allàh Acbar*, and make themselves Masters of the Gates, and break the Bolts, and remove the Chains, that he with the rest of the Army might march into the City without any Difficulty. This was accordingly perform'd. The poor Christians, assoon as ever they heard the *Tecbîr*, (so the *Arabs* call the crying out *Allàh Acbar*) were sensible that the City was lost; and were seiz'd with such

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Abubeker. Alwákidi.

an Astonishment, that they let their Weapons fall out of their Heads. *Caled* entring at the East Gate with the Saracens, put all to the Sword, and Christian Blood streamed down the Streets of *Damascus*. They went on thus murdering all they found, till they came to St. *Mary*'s Church, where they met with *Abu Obeidah* and his Company. When *Caled* saw *Abu Obeidah* and his Men in their March, and the Priests and Monks before them, and all the Saracens with their Swords by their Sides, not so much as one drawn, he wonder'd what was the Matter. *Abu Obeidah* perceived in him Tokens of Dislike, and said, *God has delivered the City into my Hands by way of Surrender, and saved the Believers the Trouble of fighting.* At which *Caled* was very angry, and said, that he had taken it by the Sword, and they should have no Security. *Abu Obeidah* told him, that he had given them an Article in writing, which they had here to shew: *And how* (said *Caled*) *came you to agree with them, without acquainting me first? Did not you know me? Did not you know that I am your General, and* * *Master of your Counsels? And therefore I'll put them every one*

* Arab. Sáhhibo Ráyecha.

one to the Sword. I did not think (said *Abu Obeidah*) *that when I had made an Agreement, or* * *design'd to do any thing, you would ever have contradicted me, or have gone about to make it void. But you shall not make it void, for I have given all these People my Protection, and that in the Name of God and his Prophet, and all the Muslemans that were with me lik'd it, and approv'd it, and we don't use to be worse than our Word.*

Abubeker. Alwakidi.

* Arab. Raâi-to Ráyan.

There was a great Noise made on both sides, and *Caled* would not abate an ace. The hungry Arabs that were with him were eager to fall on, and thirsted after Blood and Plunder. The poor Inhabitants were now in a very calamitous Condition, for every Man of them had been murther'd, or made a Slave, if *Abu Obeidah* had not stood their Friend; who seeing the *Arabs* fall on, and kill and take Prisoners, was extreamly concern'd, and call'd out in a Passion; * *By God, my Word is look'd upon as nothing, the Covenant which I make is broken.* Then he turn'd his Horse, and rode about among the

* Arab. Wallàh, *an Oath frequently us'd by the* Arabs; *who do not account it any Profanation of the Divine Name, to swear by it; but rather an Acknowledgment of his Omnipotence and Omnipresence; and therefore we find it used by the most religious among them.*

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Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Soldiers, and ſaid, *I adjure you by the Apoſtle of God, that you meddle with none of them, till you ſee how* Caled *and I can adjuſt this Matter.* With much ado he made them forbear; when the chief Officers came to them, and they all went together into the Church, to debate this Affair. Several of them enclined to the more merciful ſide, for which they gave this very ſubſtantial Reaſon, *viz. That there were a great many Cities ſtill to be taken, and if it ſhould once be reported about the Country, that the* Saracens *had broke their Promiſe after they had given Security; they muſt never expect to have any other Place ſurrender, but make the moſt obſtinate Defence imaginable.* At laſt ſome adviſed, that *Caled* ſhould have the Diſpoſal of that part of the Town which he had taken by the Sword, and *Abu Obeidah* of that which he had taken upon Articles; at leaſt till ſuch time as they could appeal to the *Caliph*, and be determined by his Sentence. This was ſo reaſonable a Propoſal, that *Caled* could not refuſe it; ſo at laſt he conſented that the People ſhould have their Protection, but would give no Quarter to *Thomas* and *Herbis*, nor any of their Soldiers. *Abu*

bu Obeidah told him, that they were all included, and begg'd of him not to make any further Disturbance about it.

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

And now we have seen *Damascus*, the most noble and ancient City of *Syria*, taken by the Saracens; we must leave the Conquerors in Possession, and the miserable Inhabitants in their deplorable Circumstances and take a View of Affairs at *Medinah*. * *Abubeker*, the Caliph, died the same Day that *Damascus* was taken †, which was on *Friday*, the twenty third of *August*, in the Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty four; and of the *Hegjrah* the thirteenth ||. There are various Reports concerning his Death: Some say, that he was poison'd by the *Jews*, eating Rice with *Hareth Ebn Caldah*, and that they both died of it within a Twelvemonth after *. But *Ayesha* says, that he bathed himself upon a cold Day, which threw him into a Fever, of which he died within fifteen Days: All which time *Omar* said Prayers publickly in his Place.

* Alwâkidi.

† Elmakin.

Hegjrah 13. A. D. 634.

|| Abu'lpheda.

* Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi & Abu'lpheda.

† When he perceived himself near his Departure, he call'd his Secretary, and gave him Directions to write as follows.

† *Author of the History of the Holy Land*, M.S. Arab. Pocock. Num. 362.

In

Abubeker.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

This is the Testament of Abubeker Ebn Abi Kohâpha, *which he made at that time when he was just a going out of this World, and entering into the other. A time in which the Infidel shall believe, and the wicked Person be* * *assured, and the Liar shall speak Truth. I appoint* Omar Ebno'l Chitâb *my Successor over you; therefore hearken to him, and obey him. If he does that which is right and just,* * *'tis what I think and know of him. If he does otherwise, every Man must be rewarded according to his Works. I intend to do for the best, but I don't know hidden Things: But those who do Evil shall find the Consequences of it. Fare ye well, and the Mercy and Blessing of God be upon you.*

* *That is, The Infidel and Wicked shall then be assured of the Reality of those Things relating to a future State which they disbelieved and ridiculed in their Life-time.*

When he designed to make *Omar* his Successor, *Omar* desired to be excus'd, and said, he had no need of that Place. To which *Abubeker* answered, that the Place had need of him, and so appointed him Caliph against his Will. Then he gave him such Instructions as he thought proper; and when *Omar* was gone

gone out of his Presence, he lifted up his Hand, and said, *O God! I intend nothing by this but the Peoples Good, and I fear lest there should be any Difference among them; and I have set over them the best Man among them. They are thy Servants; unite them with thy Hand, and make their Affairs prosperous, and make him a good Governour; and spread abroad the Doctrine of the Prophet of Mercy, and make his Followers good Men.* Abubeker.

Elmakin says, that he was the first that gathered together the scattered Chapters of the *Alcoran*, and digested them into one Volume. For in *Mahomet*'s Time they were only in loose and dispersed Writings. But when in the War which they had with *Moseilamah*, of which we have already given an Account, a great many of those who could read and repeat the *Alcoran* were killed: *Abubeker* was afraid lest any part of it should be lost; and gathered together what was extant in Writing, or what any of the Muslemans could repeat, and making one Volume of it, called it *Mus-haph*; which in the Arabick Tongue signifies a *Book* or *Volume**. This Book was committed to the Custody of *Haphsah*, *Omar*'s Daughter,

* Abu'lpheda.

Abubeker

Joannes Andreas.

and one of *Mahomet*'s Wives. But *Joannes Andreas*, who was himself a Moor by Birth, and *Alfaqui* or chief Doctor of the Muslemans in *Sciatinia*, in the Kingdom of *Valencia* in *Spain*, and afterwards converted to the Christian Religion in the Year of our Lord 1487, says, that this was not done till the time of *Othman*, the third *Caliph* after *Mahomet*. *Eutychius* in his Annals says the same. I believe them both to be mistaken, because I find in * *Abu'l-pheda*, that afterwards when *Othman* came to be *Caliph*, he observing the Variety of different Readings which were spread abroad, copied this Book which had been delivered to *Haphsah*, and abolish'd and destroy'd all other Copies which had different Readings from this; obliging all the Mahometans to receive this Copy as the only authentick *Alcoran*. Which Action of his I am fully perswaded, gave occasion to some to report, that *Othman* was the first that gathered the Chapters of it into one Volume; a Piece of Work of that Importance, that it can scarcely be believed to have escaped the Zeal and Diligence of *Abubeker* and *Omar*.

* Kitâb Almoctaser phi Acbâri 'l bashar.

* As

Abubeker.

* As to the Character of this *Caliph*; he was a tall, lean Man, of a ruddy Complection, and a thin Beard, which he uſed to tinge with ſuch Colours as are frequently uſed in the Eaſtern Countries, to make it look more graceful. He never ſaved any Money in the publick Treaſury; but every Friday at Night, diſtributed what there was among Perſons of Merit; to the Soldiers firſt; and after them, to thoſe that were any other way deſerving. His Chaſtity, Temperance, and neglect of the things of this Life, were exemplary. He deſired *Ayeſha* to take an Account of all that he had gotten ſince he was *Caliph*, and diſtribute it among the Muſlemans; being reſolved not to be enriched by his Preferment, but ſerve the publick *gratis*; only he took three *Drachmæ* (a Piece of Gold in uſe among the *Arabs* at that time; the true Value of which is now unknown to us) out of the publick Treaſury, as a Reward of his Service. His whole Inventory amounted to the Value of no more than five of thoſe *Drachmæ*; which when *Omar* heard, he ſaid, That *Abubeker* had left his Succeſſor a hard Pattern.

* Elmakin.

Abubeker.

'Tis usual with some Authors, when they give Characters of great Men, to mention some of their Sentences, or wise Sayings. The *Arabs* have not been deficient in this Particular. *Nisaburiensis*, (called so from *Nisabour*, the Metropolis of *Chorasan*; as it is most common for *Arabick* Authors to be distinguish'd by the Place of their Birth as much as by their Names) has collected in a little Book the grave and witty Sayings of *Mahomet* and his Successors, and some of the Kings of *Persia*. Among some others which he has recorded of *Abubeker*, there are these two very remarkable ones; **Good Actions are a Guard against the Blows of Adversity.* And this; *Death is the easiest* (or least considerable) *of all things after it, and the hardest of all things before it.*

He was sixty three Years old when he died; having reigned two (Lunar) Years, three Months and Nine Days.

* Nisabûri, M. S. Arab. Pocock. Num. 62.

OMAR

OMAR EBNO'L CHITAB. Omar.

The second Caliph after *Mahomet.*

A*Bubeker* having taken Care of the Succeſſion by his laſt Teſtament, all that Diſturbance was prevented, which happen'd before upon the Death of *Mahomet.* I do not find in any Author, that *Ali* or his Party made any Oppoſition; but the ſame Day that *Abubeker* died, *Omar* was inveſted with the Regal and Pontifical Dignity, and ſaluted by univerſal Conſent, *The Caliph of the Caliph of the Apoſtle of God*; that is, *The Succeſſor of the Succeſſor of* Mahomet. But when they conſider'd that this Title was ſomething too long, and that at the coming on of every new *Caliph*, it would grow longer ſtill, they invented another, which ſhould ſerve for all the *Caliphs* to come, and that was *Amiro'l Mumenina*; *Imperator Credentium*, *Emperor of the Believers.*

Hegjrah 13. A. D. 634.

Elmakin.

Omar.

Which afterwards was uſed to the ſucceeding Caliphs; *Omar* being the firſt that was ever called by that Title.

Being thus confirmed in his new Dignity, he goes into the Pulpit, to make a Speech to the People. He did not ſay much; but the Subſtance of it was; *That he ſhould not have taken ſuch a troubleſome Charge upon himſelf, had it not been for the good Opinion that he had of them, and the great Hopes which he had conceived of their Perſeverance in their Duty, and doing that which was commendable and Praiſe-worthy.* Thus the Ceremony being over, which in the Infancy of that Government, whilſt they had not yet attained that Grandeur which their Succeſſors afterwards arrived at, was not very great; every Man went home very well ſatisfy'd.

Omar, having taken upon him the Government, was deſirous of nothing more than to make ſome Conqueſts in *Irâk*; and in order to this, ſends *Abu Obeid* with an Army, joining to him *Almothanna*, *Amrou*, and *Salit*, who marched with their Forces till they came to *Thaalabiyah*, where they pitched their

their Tents just by the River. *Salit*, considering all things well, and justly fearing that the Forces of the *Persians* were too great for them to encounter withal, did what he could to perswade *Abu Obeid* not to cross the River; telling him, that since the *Persians* were apparently too strong for them, it would be more advisable to reserve themselves for a fairer Opportunity, and retire into the Desarts, and there secure themselves as well as they could, till they had sent to the Caliph for fresh Supplies. But *Abu Obeid* was so far from being perswaded by what he said, that he called him Coward. *Mothanna* took him up, and told him, that what *Salit* had said, was not the Effect of Cowardice, but that he had told him what he thought the best way; adding, that he was also of the same Opinion himself, and bad him have a Care how he passed over to the Enemies, for fear he should bring himself and those that were with him, into such Danger, as he could not bring them out of again. But *Abu Obeid*, deaf to all good Counsel, and impatient of Delay, forthwith commands a Bridge to be made, and marches over

Omar.

Omar.

his Army. *Salit* and *Mothanna*, tho' they did not at all approve of his Conduct, yet having ſpoke what they thought, to no purpoſe, went over after him. The Soldiers follow'd him with an heavy Heart, grieved at the Raſhneſs of their General, which they had juſt reaſon to fear would prove fatal to them.

As ſoon as they were got over the Bridge, *Abu Obeid* put his Men in Battle array, as well as the Shortneſs of the time would permit; for the *Perſian* Archers lay very hard at him, and wounded the Muſlemans grievouſly. However *Abu Obeid* having got ſome part of his Army in tolerable Order, charged the *Perſians* ſo furiouſly, that they could no longer keep their Ground, but ran away. *Abu Obeid* purſued, as being now aſſured of the Victory; but the *Perſians* rallying again, and renewing their Charge, kill'd *Abu Obeid*, and routed the Muſlemans. Thoſe that remain'd of them made up to the Bridge; *Almothanna* all the while behaving himſelf like an experienc'd Captain, fought in the Rear, and brought them off with as little Loſs as could be expected. At laſt they got over the

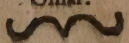
Bridge,

Bridge, and *Mothanna* after them; who was no sooner over, but he order'd the Bridge to be cut down, to prevent the Pursuit of the *Persians*. Omar.

Mothanna having now secured himself, sent the Caliph an Account of the whole Matter; and having acquainted him with *Abu Obeid*'s Rashness in passing the River with so small a Number, contrary to the Judgment of all the Officers, together with the Success which had followed so unadvised an Undertaking, staid expecting further Orders. The Caliph commanded him to secure himself in his Camp as well as he could, and not stir till he should receive the Supplies which he would take care to raise for him with all possible Expedition. *Mothanna* obeys the Order; in the mean time the Caliph sends special Messengers to the Tribes of the *Arabs*, to raise Men for the Service, which they speedily perform'd. The new raised Soldiers were muster'd at *Medinah*, and *Jarir Ebn Abdo'llâh* was appointed their General, and sent with Orders to join *Mothanna* and the rest of the Forces, and, as Opportunity should serve, give Battle to the *Persians*. *Jarir* being come to *Thaalabiyah*, where the rest

Omar.

rest of the Army was, they march'd to *Dir Hind*, where they encamped, and made frequent Excursions, plundering and destroying that Part of *Irák*, which lies next the River *Euphrates*. *Arzemidocht*, Queen of the *Persians*, perceiving the great Damage which she every Day receiv'd from the *Arabian* Army, thought it high time to look about her, and out of all the Chevalry, chose twelve thousand of the best Horse, and appointing *Mahran* General of them, sent them to repress the Insolencies and Outrages of the *Arabs*. They marched till they came to *Hirah*; where the *Arabians*, having called back those Troops which were gone to forage, met them. Both Armies were immediately joined. *Mothanna* fought amongst the thickest of the *Persians*, and was gotten into the midst of their Army, but bravely recovered himself, and returned to his own Men. The *Persians* behaved themselves so well, that some of the *Arabs* gave Ground. *Mothanna* perceiving his *Arabs* flinch, tore his Beard; labouring as much as in him lay, to stay the Flight of his Men and restore the Battle, which he did in a great measure: And then began a most



moſt furious Engagement, which laſted from Noon till Sun-ſet, neither Party giving way, or retreating. 'Tis hard to gueſs which Side would have prevail'd, had not the Death of *Mahran* determined it; for *Mothanna* meeting him in the Battle, they fought Hand to Hand. *Mahran* ſtruck at *Mothanna*, but his Sword did not pierce his Armour: Then immediately *Mothanna* gave him ſuch a Blow upon his Shoulder, that he fell down dead. The *Perſians* having loſt their General, were quite diſheartned, quitted the Field, and fled to *Madayen*. The *Arabs*, contented with their Victory, did not purſue them far, but returned to cure their wounded Men, and bury their dead.

The *Perſian* Nobility perceiving the Saracens every way too hard for them, and that they had now made themſelves Maſters of the Borders of their Country, and were very likely to get more, began to be very uneaſy, and laid all the Blame upon their Queen, *Arzemidocht*. 'Tis very common in thoſe Eaſtern Countries to meaſure things by the Succeſs; and if things go ill, neither the Grand Signior himſelf, nor the Sultan of *Perſia*, nor the Emperor

Omar.

ror of the *Moguls*, can be secured from the Murmurs, and oftentimes Mutinies of their Subjects; who, tho' things be managed with all the Care and Circumspection that Human Capacity can be Master of, yet if the Success does not answer their Expectation, never fail to complain of Male-Administration, and represent their Princes as Persons unfit for Government, either for want of Abilities, or else because they look upon them to be *unlucky* and *unfortunate*, in which Matter the Eastern Nations are extremely superstitious. This the Queen experienc'd, for after this Battle was lost, and things went ill on all sides, the next thing they said, was, *This we get by suffering a Woman to rule over us*; as if all their Misfortunes had been owing to her Mismanagement; or, as if they might not have met with the same ill Success, under the Government of the wisest Prince in the World. However they consider'd nothing of this, but resolved to depose the poor Queen: Which they did, and placed *Yazdejerd* upon the Throne in her stead, who was a young Man of the Royal Family, descended from *Cosroes* the Son of *Hormisdas*. But they did

not

Omar.

not much mend the Matter, for the Government of this new King of theirs was more inauſpicious than that of the Queen could be; for in her Reign, the Confines of the Empire were only invaded, but in his, all was entirely loſt, and the whole Kingdom and Country of the *Perſians* fell into the Hands of the Muſlemans.

Yazdejerd being King, forthwith raiſed an Army out of the ſeveral Provinces of his Kingdom, and made *Ruſtam* their General, who was deſcended of a noble Family, and had Years and Experience ſufficient to recommend him to ſuch a Poſt. *Yazdejerd* gave him Orders to march directly to *Hirah*, where the *Arabs* lay; and at the ſame time ſent another great Army, under the Command of *Alharzaman*, a *Perſian* Nobleman, to *Ehwàs*, where *Abu Muſa Alaſhari*, another of *Omar*'s Captains, lay forraging and ſpoiling the Country. But all to no Purpoſe: The *Perſians*, as if the Period of their Empire was at Hand, could have no Succeſs, but were forced to ſubmit to the riſing Greatneſs of the Saracenical Empire. Both theſe *Perſian* Generals were killed, and both the Armies entirely routed and defeated.

Abu'l-

Omar.

Abu'lpharagius, from whom I have taken this Account of the Transactions relating to *Persia*, is mistaken two Years, as to the time in which they were done; for he places them at the Beginning of *Omar*'s Reign, which, as we have shewn before, was in the Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty four. Now 'tis very well known that the *Persian* Æra (which they use to this Day) bears Date from the beginning of that Year, in which this same *Tazdejerd*, the last of the *Persian* Kings, came to the Crown; which was, * as is confess'd on all Hands, the 16th Day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty two. However, since *Abu'lpharagius* has placed these Actions in *Omar*'s Life, I have contented my self with giving the Reader this Hint, and followed that Author in this Particular; especially, because I could not find any Place so proper for the interrupting the History of *Syria*, as the Taking of *Damascus*, and the Death of *Abubeker*; which both happening at the same time, (according to *Alwákidi*, who differs in that Particular from other Authors) made a sort of a Period, and gave me a fair Opportunity of inserting whatever

* Golius's *Notes upon* Alferganus, *p.* 30. Gravij Epochæ Celebriores.

was

was done by the Saracens in any other Country within that Compaſs of time.

Omar.

Alwákidi.

And now the Series of our Hiſtory requires us to return to the *Damaſcens*, whom we left juſt at that time when *Abu Obeidah* had with great Intreaty ſcarcely prevailed with *Caled* to ratify the Articles which he had made with the Beſieged. Having obtain'd it at laſt with much ado, he told them, that they were at their Liberty to go where they pleas'd; but when they were out of the Bounds of that Part of the Country, which was taken by the Muſlemans, they were alſo out of their Protection, and free from any Article or Agreement whatſoever. The Chriſtians not content with this, deſired their Protection for the Space of three Days, which way ſoever they went, and that none of the Saracens ſhould purſue them during that time; after which they muſt be content to take their Fortune. To which Propoſal *Caled* conſented, but told them withal, that they ſhould carry nothing with them out of the City, but Proviſion; which provoked *Abu Obeidah* afreſh, who anſwer'd, that to uſe them ſo, would ſtill be a Breach of Promiſe, he having engaged to give

Omar. Alwákidi.

give them leave to go out with Bag and Baggage. *Then*, said *Caled*, *if they have that, they shall have no Arms*. To which *Herbîs* answered, that they must have Arms, it being impossible for them to travel safely without. *Abu Obeidah* said, *Then let every one of them have something; he that has a Lance shall have no Sword, and he that takes a Bow, shall have no Lance*; with which they were pretty well contented. *Thomas* and *Herbîs* were the Captains of this unhappy Caravan, who had now lost all but what they could carry away; and instead of lofty and stately Palaces, pleasant Gardens and delicious Fare, must be glad to shift about where they can, and expose themselves to all the Difficulties and Hazards of a tedious Journey, without any Regard had to Age, Sex or Degree. The tender and delicate Lady that once scarce knew how to set her Foot upon the Ground, must now be forc'd to go through inhospitable Desarts and craggy Mountains, deprived not only of her Superfluities, but of all the Conveniencies, and even the very Necessaries of Life. *Thomas* pitched a Tent on the Out-side of the City, and ordered his Men to bring the best of the things, the Plate, Jewels, Silk,

Omar. Alwákidi.

Silk, and the like, into it, in order to pack them up, and carry them away. The Emperor *Heraclius* had then in *Damascus* a Wardrobe, in which there were above 300 Loads of dyed Silks and Cloth of Gold, which were all pack'd up. The poor miserable Wretches took every one what they could any way carry, of the best things they had, and made all possible Haste to be gone. *Damascus*, once their Joy and Delight, could now no more be thought on without the utmost Regret. The Emperor *Heraclius* his Daughter went out among the rest, which followed *Thomas* and *Herbis*. *Derar* (who was vex'd at his Heart because *Abu Obeidah* had let them come off so well) stood by as they went out, and gnash'd his Teeth for Spight and Indignation. The Princess thought that the Reason of his Anger was because of the Spoil, and said to him as she passed by, *What's the Reason*, Derar, *that you mutter thus? Don't you know that* **with God there are more and better things than these are?* *Derar* swore, *that it was not the Plunder that he valued; but what vexed him was the Peoples escaping, and not being all murder'd*; adding, that *Abu Obeidah*

† *Arab.* Ind'al-jah.

Omar. Alwákidi.

had done a great Injury to the Muslemans in giving them Quarter. *Athi Ebn Ammâr* hearing him say so, answered, That *Abu Obeidah had done for the best, in preventing the Effusion of the Blood of the Muslemans, (the most sacred thing under the Sun) and giving them Rest from their Labours. Besides, God has made the Hearts of the true Believers the Seat of Mercy, and those of the Infidels the Seat of Cruelty: And God has said in some of the inspired Books, that he was most merciful; and that he would not shew Mercy, but only to the merciful.* Then he quoted a Passage in the *Alcoran*, to prove to him that † *Agreement* was *Better. Derar* told him, that he talk'd like an honest Man, but he swore, that for his Part *he would never have Mercy upon any, that said that God had a Son, and joined a Partner with God. Thomas* and *Herbîs* paid *Abu Obeidah* what they had bargained with him for, as the Redemption of their Lives and Liberties; and then those of them who chose to stay behind, and be Tributaries, staid; the rest, which were by far the greater Number, went away: Whom we must leave upon their March a while, and prepare our Ears for a very remarkable Relation.

† Alcoran, *Chap.* IV. 27. Assúlhho Chairon.

Caled,

Omar. Alwákidi.

Caled, O bloody and insatiable Saracen! saw these poor Wretches carry away the small Remainder of their plentiful Fortunes, with a great deal of Regret: So mortally did he hate the Christians, that to see any of them alive, was Death to him. What does he do? Why! he orders his Men to keep themselves and their Horses well; and told them, that after the three Days were expired (for they had Security for that time) he designed to pursue them; and said, that his Mind gave him, that they should still overtake them, and have all the Plunder; For, says he, they have left nothing valuable behind them, but have taken all the best of their Cloaths, and Plate, and Jewels, and whatever is worth carrying along with them. Having thus prepared for his Journey, there happened another Controversy between him and the Townsmen that staid behind, concerning a great Quantity of Wheat and Barley. The Townsmen which had surrender'd to *Abu Obeidah*, said, that it belong'd to them; *Caled* said, that it was his, (and indeed so was every thing else of the Christians that he could lay his Hands upon.)

Omar. Alwákidi.

Abu Obeidah, who was always more courteous to the Christians, than could have been expected from a Saracen, took the Citizens Part. The Contention grew so high, that they had like once more to have fallen together by the Ears, 'till at last they determin'd to write to *Abubeker* about it, not having yet receiv'd the News of his Death. This Disturbance detain'd *Caled* from pursuing the poor *Damascens*; for there were now four Days and as many Nights pass'd since they went away, and there were but little Hopes of overtaking them; for he was well assur'd, that assoon as possibly they could they would secure themselves in some walled Town; so that he had quite laid aside the Thoughts of following them, had it not been for a very unfortunate Circumstance, which was thus:

The Reader may be pleased to remember that *Derar Ben Alazwâr*, during the Siege, had two thousand Men given him to ride round about, and survey the Camp, lest they should be surpris'd, either by any Succours from the Emperor, or Sallies from the Town. It chanc'd one Night, as some of these Men

Omar. Alwákidi.

Men were upon Duty, they heard a Horſe neigh, which came out of the Gate *Keifân.* They ſtood ſtill, and let him alone 'till he came up cloſe to them, and took his Rider Priſoner. Immediately after, there came another Horſeman out of the ſame Gate; which called the Man, who was taken Priſoner, by his Name. The Saracens bad him anſwer him, that he might come up, and they might take him too. But inſtead of that, he ſpoke out aloud in Greek, *The Bird is taken.* The Perſon he ſpoke to underſtood his Meaning very well, and return'd back into the City. The Saracens could not tell what he ſaid; only they knew that they had loſt another Priſoner by the means: Upon which they had like to have killed him, but upon better Conſideration they reſolved to carry him to the General *Caled,* that he might diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed. *Caled* asked him, what he was? *I am,* ſaid he, *a Nobleman, and I married a young Lady, which I lov'd as my Life; and when I ſent for her home, her Parents gave a ſlight Anſwer, and ſaid, That they had ſomething elſe to do. Wherefore I took a convenient Opportuni-*

Omar. Awákidi.

ty of ſpeaking with her, and we agreed to come out in the Evening, and give a good round Sum of Money to him that was upon the Guard that Night. I coming out firſt, was ſurpriz'd by your Men, and to prevent her falling into your Hands, I call'd out, The Bird is taken. *She apprehending my meaning, went back with the two Servants that were with her; and who can blame me! Well,* ſaid *Caled, and what have you to ſay to the Mahometan Religion? If you like that, when we take the City, you ſhall have your Wife: If not, you are a dead Man.* The poor Wretch being ſurpriz'd, and not having Faith enough to die a Martyr, renounc'd his Chriſtianity, and made Confeſſion of his Mahometaniſm in theſe Words: *I teſtify, That there is but one God; he has no Partner; and* Mahomet *is the Apoſtle of God.* Then he was entirely theirs, and uſed to fight among them valiantly. When the City was ſurrender'd, he went with all ſpeed to find his Beloved. Upon Enquiry, he receiv'd Information, that ſhe had ſhut her ſelf up in a Nunnery; which was true enough. For ſhe never expected to ſee him more, after he was once fallen into the Hands of the *Saracens*; and ſince all her Joy and De-

Omar. Alwákidi.

Delight in this World was gone, ſhe reſolv'd to ſpend the reſt of her Days in the Contemplation of a better. He goes to the Church were ſhe was, expecting to be received with abundance of Joy; in which he was very much deceived: For when he had asked her the Reaſon why ſhe turn'd Nun; and ſhe had told him; he no ſooner made himſelf known, and acquainted her with the Change of his Religion, but ſhe treated him with the utmoſt Contempt and Averſion, worthily thinking that he ought himſelf to be renounc'd by her, who had firſt renounced his Chriſtianity; nor would the Remembrance of former Love, nor the Conſideration of that Extremity which had oblig'd him to it, move her, nor beget in her one charitable Thought towards him; but ſhe ſtill continued firm in her Reſolution to bid adieu to all the Enjoyments of this preſent Life, and never converſe with him any more. Wherefore, when *Thomas* and *Herbîs*, attended with the reſt of the miſerable *Damaſcens*, went away, ſhe went along with them. Her Departure wounded her Husband (*Jonas*) to the Heart: He was very inſtant

Omar. Alwákidi.

with *Caled* to detain her by Force; who anſwer'd, *That ſince they had ſurrender'd themſelves, it could not be done; but they muſt all of them have free Liberty to go where they pleaſed.* Here then is the main Spring of this Action. As ſoon as *Jonas* underſtood that *Caled* had a Deſign of purſuing the *Damaſcens*, he was very forward, and teaz'd him to go, and proffer'd his Service to be their Guide. But, as we have ſaid before, *Caled*, who was willing to purſue them after three Days were expired, being oblig'd to ſtay longer upon the account of the Controverſy concerning the Corn, thought four Days too much Advantage on their ſide, and had infallibly laid aſide the Thoughts of it, if it had not been for the inceſſant Importunity of this damn'd Apoſtate, who was reſov'd to gratify his own Humor, tho' it were by betraying into the Hands of mercileſs and unrelenting Saracens, Thouſands of his innocent Countrymen, Women, and Children, who had already labour'd under the Calamities and Diſtreſſes of a conſuming War. However nothing would ſatisfy him but this Woman; and when *Caled* told him they were too far gone,

gone, he never ceas'd ſpurring him forwards, telling him, *That he knew all the Country, and how to follow them the neareſt way; and whatever elſe he could think on to encourage the Undertaking.* *Caled*, who was not backwards of himſelf to go about any thing that afforded the leaſt proſpect of Succeſs, yielded to his Importunity, and ſo the Journey was concluded upon.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Caled choſe out 4000 of the beſt Horſe, which *Jonas* order'd to be cloath'd in the Habit of Chriſtian *Arabs*; that being to travel in the Enemies Country, they might paſs unſuſpected. Then committing the Care of the Town and Army to *Abu Obeidah*, they departed. It was no hard Matter to follow ſuch a great Multitude of People as went out of *Damaſcus*; for beſides that the Footſteps of their Mules were viſible enough, they ſcattered things enough in their haſty Flight, to direct thoſe who came after which way to purſue. The Saracens kept riding Night and Day, and never ſtood ſtill, but only in Prayer-time. For a long time together they could trace them very plainly; but at laſt there appeared no Footſteps at all, nor

any

Omar. Alwákidi.

any Signs by which they might make any Guefs which way they were gone. *What's the News now?* ſad *Caled* to *Jonas*. *Oh*, ſays he, *they are turn'd out of the great Road, for fear of being purſu'd: You are in a manner as ſure of them, as if you had already taken them.* So he turns them out of the high Road, and leads them among the Mountains, where it was very bad travelling. The Way was ſo extreamly rough and uneven, that they could not ride without the greateſt Hazard. The Horſes ſtruck Fire at every ſtep, they beat off their Shooes, and batter'd their Hoofs to Pieces, that it was almoſt impoſſible for them to travel. They were forced to alight from their Horſes, and then they could ſcarce get forward, on Foot, and thoſe who had ſtrong Boots on, well ſoal'd with Iron, had the Soals torn off from the Upper-Leathers. The Saracens who had been us'd to a great many Hardſhips, began to be extremely uneaſy, and wiſhed themſelves again in the right Road. In ſhort, every Man was heartily tired, but the indefatigable Lover *Caled* himſelf could not tell what to think on't; but complain'd to *Jonas*, and told him, that

that it was all his doing. At laſt they perceiv'd a great many Footſteps, which made them imagine that the People were gone before them. The Guide told *Caled*, that he was ſure they could not be far before, becauſe the Dung of their Horſes was not yet dry. Upon this *Caled* call'd to his Men, to amend their Pace; but they told him, they were quite tired and worn out, and muſt of neceſſity ſtay and bait a while before they went any further. When they had refreſhed their Horſes, they kept going on; and where-ever they paſſed, the Country People miſtook them for Chriſtian *Arabs*. The Guide brought them to *Jabalah* and *Laodicea*; but they durſt not paſs through thoſe Towns, for fear of being diſcover'd. *Jonas* at laſt enquir'd of a Country-man; who told them, that the Emperor hearing that the *Damaſcens* were upon their March towards *Antioch*, was fearful leſt by their coming, and giving a terrible Account of the Sharpneſs of the Siege, and the Courage of the Saracens, thoſe about him ſhould be diſhearten'd; and had therefore ſent an Expreſs to forbid their coming any nearer to *Antioch*, and

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

and commanded them to go to *Constantinople*. He told him also, that the Emperor was raising Forces to send to *Termouk*. When *Jonas* had received this Intelligence, he was at a Loss, and could not tell what to do. *Caled* enquired of him what News? and he told him how it was, and that there was no hope of ever overtaking them; and besides, there was but one Mountain between them and that Place where the Emperor's Officers were raising Forces to send against them. As soon as *Caled* heard him mention the Forces, he turn'd as pale as Ashes. *Derar*, who had never observed in him any Signs of Fear before in all his Life-time, ask'd him, what was the Matter? *Alas*, says he, *'tis not that I fear Death, or anything that may befall my self, but because I am afraid lest the Emperor's Forces should get to* Damascus, *and do our People some Mischief in my Absence; especially remembring a Dream which I had not long since, and I cannot tell the Meaning of it.* One of the Men asked him what it was? When he had told him, *Abdo'rrahmân*, Soldier like, interpreted it all in Favour of the Saracens. So they continued their March,

Sept. 1. 634.

Omar. Alwákidi.

March, and there fell abundance of Rain that Night, which put them to a great deal of Inconvenience, but the poor *Damaſcens* to much more. In the Morning, after a tedious March, the *Damaſcens* found a pleaſant Meadow, and the Sun ſhined comfortably upon them. Glad of this Opportunity, they ſat down to reſt their weary Limbs, and ſpred out their wet Cloaths to dry them. A great many of them, quite tired and fatigued, lay down to ſleep.

In this Poſture the Saracens found them. As ſoon as *Caled* underſtood the Matter, he divided his four thouſand Men into four Regiments. The firſt was commanded by *Derar Ebn Alazwâr*; the ſecond by *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*; the third by *Abdo'rrahmân*, *Abubeker*'s Son. *Caled* himſelf brought up the fourth, having firſt charged the Officers, that they ſhould not make their Appearance all at once, but leave a little ſpace one between the other, which was a very proper way to ſtrike Terror into the *Damaſcens*; and was frequently uſed by the Saracens, both in their Field-Fights, and when they came to inveſt any Town. He bad them not

Omar. Alwákidi.

not begin till they ſaw him fall on firſt, and not touch any of the Plunder till the Fight was over. The ſight of the Meadow was ſo pleaſant and diverting, eſpecially after they had been ſo harraſt with that diſmal Journey thro' the Rocks and Mountains, that they had like to have forgot what they came about. There they ſaw the purling Streams, the fine Flowers, and unſpeakable Variety of rich Silks of all ſorts of Colours, curiouſly wrought, ſpread all over the Meadow; all which together afforded them a very entertaining Proſpect, extreamly delightful and refreſhing. After a little Pauſe, *Caled* began the Attack, more like a Lion or a Tyger than a Man, and bad his Men fall upon the Enemies of God. The Chriſtians quickly knew who they were, but ſeeing but a few of them at firſt, deſpiſed the ſmalneſs of their Number, and prepared to fight. *Thomas* and *Herbîs* encouraged their Men, and put them in as good Order as the time would permit. *Thomas* engaged *Caled* with five thouſand Men, and after a ſharp Diſpute was killed, and his Men routed. As ſoon as *Abdo'rrahmân* ſaw *Thomas* fall from his

his Horſe, he alighted, and cut off his Head, and put it upon the Point of the Standard of the Croſs, and ſaid, *Alas for you, you Grecian Dogs, here's your Maſter's Head.*

Omar. Alwákidi.

Whilſt they were thus engaged, it is no hard Matter to gueſs what was become of *Jonas*: He was engag'd too, but after a different manner, being among the Women, in Search of his Lady. *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* came up that way, and ſaw him and his Lady fighting; and at laſt he threw her violently againſt the Ground, and took her Priſoner. Whilſt *Raphi* was making up to them, the Women ſtood upon their Defence, and pelted him with Stones. At laſt a young Lady happen'd to hit his Horſe in the Forehead, and killed him. *Raphi* ran after her with his Sword drawn, and was juſt about ſtriking her Head off, but ſhe cry'd, *Quarter*; ſo he took her Priſoner. She was a Perſon of no leſs Dignity than the Emperor's Daughter, and *Thomas*'s Wife; a Princeſs of incomparable Features, richly dreſs'd, and had a great many Jewels about her Head. When *Raphi* had diſpos'd of this rich Priſoner, he came to the Place where *Jonas* was, and found

Omar. Alwákidi.

found him bath'd in Tears, and his Lady weltring in Blood. *Raphi* enquiring what was the Matter? *Jonas* wrung his Hands, and ſaid, *Alas for me, the moſt miſerable Man in the World! I came to this Woman, which I loved above all things in this Life, and would fain have perſwaded her to return with me; but ſhe continuing obſtinate becauſe I had chang'd my Religion, and vowing we ſhould go to* Conſtantinople, *and there end her Days in a Nunnery, I reſolv'd if I could not perſwade her by fair Means, to make my ſelf Maſter of her by Force: So I threw her down, and took her Priſoner. When ſhe ſaw that ſhe was in my Power, ſhe ſat quietly a while, and ſecretly drawing out a Knife, ſtabb'd her ſelf in the Breaſt before I was aware, and fell down dead immediately.* *Raphi* hearing this lamentable Story, wept too, and ſaid, *God did not deſign that you ſhould live with her, and therefore has provided better for you. What's that?* ſaid *Jonas*. *I'll ſhew you*, anſwered *Raphi*, *a Priſoner I have taken, a Perſon of admirable Beauty, and richly dreſs'd, which I will preſent to you to recompence your Loſs.* When they came together, *Jonas* and the Princeſs talk'd together in *Greek*,

Omar. Alwàkidi.

Greek, and *Raphi* freely gave her to him.

In the mean time *Caled* was employed in the Search of *Herbîs*. At last he saw a huge tall Man richly dress'd, which he imagined at first to have been the same, and beat him down to the Ground with his Lance, saying, *Alas for thee*, Herbîs, *didst thou think to escape me?* The Man could speak *Arabick* well, and told him, that he was not *Herbîs*, but another; and if he would spare him, he would give him more than he was aware of. *No Quarter*, says *Caled*, *unless you direct me to* Herbîs, *that I may kill him*; *and if so, I shall let you go your way without any Ransom. Well*, says the Man, *I'll tell you*; *but make first a firm Agreement with me, that if I shew you where he is, you will let me go. Yes*, says *Calid*, *if he falls into my Hands. This is one of your Tricks*, said the Christian, *so you gave us Security and Protection, and then afterwards followed us to this Place, when we never expected any one should have pursu'd us*; *and now you tell me, that if* Herbis *falls into your Hands, you will let me go. I can tell you where he is, but how can I promise that?* At this *Caled* was angry, and said,

Omar Alwákidi.

Thou Christian Dog! dost thou accuse us of Breach of Promise, who are the Companions of the Apostle of God? When we promise anything, we are as good as our Word. We did not come out after you, till the fourth Day was expired. The Christian desired him to get off from him, that he might shew him where *Herbîs* was; for *Caled*, when he had beaten him down, sat upon him all the while. Then he look'd about, and shew'd him a Party of Horse at a Distance, and told him, that *Herbîs* was among them. *Caled*, upon this, called a Saracen to him, and bad him take Care of the Christian; and if *Herbîs* was among that Company, he should let him go, but if he was caught in a Lye, he should strike his Head off. When *Caled* came thither, he alighted, and betook himself to his Sword and Target; and whilst he was fighting among the thickest of the Christians, *Herbîs* came behind him, and gave him such a Blow, that he cleav'd his Helmet through to his Turbant, and with the Violence of the Stroak his Sword fell out of his Hand. About this time, *Caled*'s Men came in timely to his Assistance, and fell upon the Christians,

and

Omar. Alwákidí.

and cut them all to Pieces. When they had now entirely ruin'd and destroy'd those miserable Creatures, which had escaped at the taking of *Damascus*, *Caled* called for the Man that had shewn him the way to *Herbís*, and told him, that since he had perform'd what he had promis'd to them, they would do the same to him; only they were obliged to exhort and admonish him first: Wherefore he ask'd him, whether he could find in his Heart to become *one of the Fasting and Praying People, the Followers of* Mahomet? Upon his refusing to change his Religion, they dismiss'd him, and he took the Road towards *Constantinople*, being the only Person that the Saracens knew of, that escaped the being killed or taken Prisoner, of all that numerous Train that followed *Thomas* and *Herbís* out of the Gates of *Damascus*.

Caled, when he came back, ask'd *Jonas* what was become of his Wife? who gave him an Account of that dismal Story, which we have already related. Hearing that the Princess was taken Prisoner, he commanded her to be brought into his Presence; and when he beheld her excellent Beauty,

Omar. Alwákidi.

comely Proportion and agreeable Mein, he turned away his Head, and said, *Glory be to thee, O God! we praise thee, who createst what thou pleasest.* Then he told *Jonas*, that if the Emperor did not redeem her, he should have her: *Jonas* accepted his Present very thankfully, and withal told him, that they were in a streight narrow Place, and that it was high time to be marching; for they might be sure that what they had done was noised about the Country, and it would not be long before they should be pursued. Before they got back to *Damascus*, they saw a great Dust behind them. Upon which *Caled* dispatches a Scout, to enquire what was the Matter? Who quickly discover'd the Crosses in the Colours, and brought him Word: But, contrary to the Expectation of the Saracens, there was no Hostility intended: only there came an old Man from among the Christians, who being at his Request conducted to the General, begg'd of him, in the Emperor's Name, to dismiss the Princess his Daughter. *Caled* having advis'd with *Jonas* about it, consented to let her go; and said to the Old Man, *Tell your Master that there will never be any*

any Peace between him and me, till I have gotten every Foot of Land he has; and tho' I have sent him his Daughter now, I hope to have him instead of her one of these Days.

Omar. Alwakid

It was not long before they came to *Damascus*, where they were so much the more welcome, because their long Absence had made their Friends there despair of their Return. Old *Abu Obeidah* was surpriz'd at *Caled*'s Valour. *Caled*, reserving a fifth part of the Spoils to be sent to the Caliph, and put into the publick Treasury, according to their Precept in the * *Alcoran*, distributed the rest among the Soldiers. He gave *Jonas* a good round Sum to buy him a Wife withal: But *Jonas* answered him in a very melancholy Tone, that he would never entertain any such Thoughts again in this World, but his next Wife should be one of those black-ey'd Women mention'd in the † *Alcoran*. He continued among the Saracens, and was serviceable to them; till at last at the Battle of *Yermouk*, he was shot in the Breast. Thus fell the Apostate. However my Author, for the Encouragement of new Proselytes, (for more sorts of People than one will

* Surato'l Anphâl. *Chap.* VIII. 15.

† *Chap.* LII. 19. LVI. 22.

Omar. Alwákidi.

lye for Religion) tell us, that after he was dead, he was seen in a Vision by *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* very richly cloathed, and with gold Shoes upon his Feet, walking in a most beautiful verdant Meadow; and when *Raphi* asked him what God had done for him? *Jonas* answered, that he had given him seventy young Women, so bright and beautiful, that if any one of them should appear in this World, the Sun and Moon could not be seen for the Resplendency of her Beauty. When *Caled* heard of this Vision, he said, *This it is to be a Martyr, happy is he that attains to it.*

Caled, not having yet receiv'd Advice of *Abubeker*'s Death, wrote a Letter to him, to acquaint him with the taking of *Damascus*, the Controversy between him and *Abu Obeidah*, and the Recovery of the Spoil which the *Damascens* had carried away. The Messenger being come to *Medinah*, wondered to find *Omar* in *Abubeker*'s stead; and *Omar* finding the Letter directed to *Abubeker*, wonder'd the Saracens in *Syria* should be still ignorant of the Alteration in the Government, and told the Messenger, that he had written to *Abu Obeidah* about it, and given him the chief

Command

Omar. Alwákidi.

Command over the Muſlemans in *Syria*, and depoſed *Caled*, tho' he thought that *Abu Obeidah* was not fond of that Employ. The truth of it is, *Abu Obeidah* had receiv'd the Letter, but kept it private; for being a very modeſt Man, and one that had not the leaſt Spark of Ambition in him, he was very unwilling to take the Commiſſion out of *Caled*'s Hands: Wherefore he took no Notice of it to him, nor ſaid any thing to hinder his writing to the Caliph, after his Return from the Purſuit of the *Damaſcens*. *Omar* liked *Abu Obeidah* for his Piety, but had no Opinion at all of *Caled*. One Day as he was ſpeaking to the People from the Pulpit, (as it was uſual for the Caliphs then to talk about what concern'd the Publick, in a very familiar manner) he mention'd the taking away *Caled*'s Commiſſion, and conferring that Charge upon *Abu Obeidah*. A young Man that was preſent took the Freedom of telling him, that he wonder'd he would deprive ſuch a Perſon as had been the Inſtrument of ſo good Succeſs to the Muſlemans; and that when *Abubeker* was moved by ſome about him to depoſe him, his Anſwer was, *That he would not lay aſide, nor ſheath that Sword,*

Omar. Alwákidi.

which God had drawn for the Assistance of the true Religion: And withal told *Omar*, That if he did it, he must answer it to God. *Omar* made but very little Answer, but came down from the Pulpit, and consider'd of it that Night. The next Day he came again, and told them, that since the Care and Charge of the Muslemans was committed to him, he thought himself oblig'd to take the best Care of them he could, as one that must give an Account; and for that Reason was resolv'd to dispose of Places of Trust to such as deserv'd them, and not to such as did not: That he would give the Command of the Army to *Abu Obeidah*, whom he knew to be a Man of a tender and gentle Disposition, and one that would be kind to the Muslemans: That he did not approve of *Caled*, because he was prodigal and extravagant; adding, *I would not have your Enemies think that it is ever the better for them, because I have depos'd a fierce Man, and put a mild one in his Place; for God will be with him, and assist and strengthen him.* Then he came down from the Pulpit, and took a Sheet of Parchment, and wrote to *Abu Obeidah* a large Letter, full of good Advice. He told

told him, that he had given him the chief Command of the Army, and bad him not be too modeſt; and that he ſhould take care not to expoſe the Muſlemans to Danger, in hopes of getting Plunder. By which laſt Words he very plainly grated upon *Caled*'s following the *Damaſcens* into the Enemies Country. He charged him not to be deceived with this preſent World, and by that means periſh, as a great many had done before him, and bad him look upon thoſe who had gone before, and aſſure himſelf, that he muſt follow them. Then he adds, *As for the Wheat and Barly, it belongs to the Muſlemans, and ſo does the Gold and Silver, but there muſt be a * fifth taken out of it. As for the Controverſy between you and* Caled, *concerning the City's being ſurrendered or taken by the Sword; it was ſurrendered. You muſt have it your way: You are Commander in chief, and have the Power of determining that Matter. If the Townſmen did ſurrender, upon Condition that they ſhould have the Wheat and Barley, let them have it. As for* Caled's *purſuing the* Damaſcens, *it was a raſh Undertaking; and if God had not been the more merciful, you had not come off ſo well.*

Omar. Alwákidi.

* Alcoran. Chap. VIII. 15.

Omar. Alwákidi.

well. Then, the taking the Emperor's Daughter, and letting her go unransomed, was prodigally done. You might have had a large Sum of Money for her, which would have done a Kindness among the poor Muslemans. Farewell, &c.

Having seal'd it up, he call'd *Shaddâd Ebn Aus*, and order'd him, that as soon as he came to the Army, he should, after the Letter was read, cause the Muslemans to proclaim him *Caliph* in *Damascus*, and bad him be his representative. *Shaddâd Ben Aus* and *Amrou Ben Abi Wakkâs* made what haste they could to *Damascus*, and came to *Caled*'s Tent, and paid their Respects, and told him how the Government was dispos'd of, and that they had a Letter from the *Caliph*, which was to be read in the hearing of the Muslemans. *Caled* did not like that very well, for he knew that *Omar* was not well affected towards him. They all wept when they heard of *Abubeker*'s Death. *Caled* swore, *That tho' there was nothing upon the Earth dearer to him than* Abubeker; * *nor that he had a greater*

* *I am in great doubt, whether I have render'd these Words* (nor that he had a greater Aversion to than to *Omar*) *right, according to the Sense of the Original; but being now at great distance from the Manuscript, I am forced to follow my foul Copy.*

Aver-

Omar. Alwâkidi.

Aversion to than to Omar. *But since* Abubeker *was dead, and had appointed* Omar *his Successor, he was very willing to submit to God and to* Omar. Then the Letter was read, and the same day † being the first of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 634, *Shaddâd* was proclaim'd *Caliph* at *Damascus* in *Omar*'s stead. Upon this *Caled* resigns his Commission, and *Abu Obeidah* takes the whole Charge of the Army, and all the Affairs of the Muslemans in *Syria* upon himself. *Abu Obeiduh* was afraid that *Caled* would have taken Disgust at his Removal; and (which is generally the Effect of want of Encouragement) have been remiss in his Business; but he made the contrary appear sufficiently, in that great Action perform'd at *Dair Abi'l Kodos*; or, *The Monastery of the Holy Father.*

† Hegjrah 13. A. D. 634. *I take the Liberty as to this Date to differ from my Manuscript, which says, that* Shaddâd *was proclaim'd in* Damascus, *in the 14th Year of the* Hegjrah, *which answers to the Year of our Lord 635. But all the Circumstances make it plain that it could not be done so late. For* Abubeker (*according to* Elmakin) *died the 23d of* August, 634. *and, according to* Alwâkidi, Damascus *was taken the same Night that* Abubeker *died.* Caled's *Letter was sent as soon as he return'd from pursuing the* Damascens; *and* Omar *wrote his Answer soon after. Wherefore* Shaddâd *could not be proclaim'd* Caliph, *on the third of* Shaabân, *on the 14th Year of the* Hegjrah, *but it must be on the thirteenth, which answers to the first of our* October, *and suits exactly well with the Circumstances of the History.*

Dair

Omar. Alwákidi.

Dair Abi'l Kodos lies between *Tripoli* and *Harran*. There lived in that Place a Priest eminent for his singular Learning Piety and Austerity of Life, to such a degree, that all sorts of Persons, Young and Old, Rich and Poor, used to frequent his House, to ask his Blessing, and receive his Instructions. There was no Person of what Rank or Quality soever, but thought their selves happy if they had his Prayers; and when-ever any young Couple amongst the Nobility and Persons of the highest Rank were married, they were carry'd to him to receive his Blessing. Every Easter there us'd to be a great Fair kept at his House, where they sold rich Silks and Sattins, Plate and Jewels, and costly Furniture of all sorts. *Abu Obeidah*, now possess'd of *Damascus*, was in doubt whither to go next. One while he had Thoughts of turning to *Jerusalem*; another to *Antioch*. Whilst he was thus deliberating, a Christian that was under the Saracens Protection, inform'd him of this great Fair, which was about thirty Miles distant from *Damascus*. When he understood that there never used to be any Guards at the Fair, the Hopes of

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Omar. Alwakidi.

an easy Conquest, and large Spoil; encouraged him to undertake it. He look'd round about upon the Muslemans, and asked which of 'em would undertake to command the Forces he should send upon this Expedition; and at the same time cast his Eye upon *Caled*, but was asham'd to command him, that had been his General so lately. *Caled* understood his Meaning; but his being laid aside stuck a little in his Stomach, so that he would not proffer his Service. At last *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar* (whose Mother was, after his Father *Jaafar* was killed in the Wars, married to *Abubeker*) offer'd himself. *Abu Obeidah* accepted him chearfully, and gave him a Standard and 500 Horse. There was never a Man among 'em but had been in several Battles. The Christian who had first inform'd 'em of this Fair, was their Guide. And whilst they staid to rest themselvs in their March, he went before to take a View of the Fair. When he came back, he brought a very discouraging Account; for there had never been such a Fair seen before. He told them, that there was a most prodigious Number

Omar. Alwákidi.

ber of People, Abundance of Clergy, Officers, Courtiers and Soldiers. The occasion of which was, that the Prefect of *Tripoli* had marry'd his Daughter to a great Man, and they had brought the young Lady to this reverend Priest, to receive the Communion at his Hands. He added, that take them all together, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Cophties*, *Jews*, and *Christians*, there could be no fewer than ten thousand People, besides 5000 Horse, which were the Lady's Guard. *Abdo'llah* asked his Friends what they thought of it? They told him, that it was the best way to go back again, and not be accessary to their own Destruction. To which he answered, *That he was afraid, if he should do so, God would be angry with him, and reckon him amongst the Number of those who are backward in his Service; and so he should be miserable. I am not* (said he) *willing to go back before I fight; and if any one will help me, God reward him: If not, I shall not be angry with him.* The rest of the Saracens hearing that, were ashamed to flinch from him; and told him, he might do as he pleased, they were ready at his Command. *Now* (says *Abdo'llah* to the Guide) *come along with*

with us, and you ſhall ſee what the Companions of the Apoſtle of God are able to perform. Not I, anſwer'd the Guide, *go your ſelves; I have nothing to ſay to you. Abdo'llah* perſwaded him with a great many good Words, to bear them Company till they came within ſight of the Fair. Having conducted them as far as he thought fit, he bad them ſtay there, and lie cloſe till Morning. In the Morning they conſulted which way to attack them to the beſt Advantage. *Omar Ebn Rebiyah* thought it moſt adviſeable to ſtay till the People had opened their Wares, and the Fair was begun, and then fall upon them when they were all employ'd. This Advice of his was approv'd by all. *Abdo'llah* divided his Men into five Troops, and order'd them to charge in five different Places, and not regard the Spoil, nor taking Priſoners, but put all to the Sword. When they came near the Monaſtery, the Chriſtians ſtood as thick as poſſible. The Reverend Father had begun his Sermon, and they throng'd on all ſides to hear him with a great deal of Attention. The young Lady was in the Houſe, and her Guard ſtood round about it, with a great many

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

ny of the Nobility and Officers richly cloath'd. When *Abdo'llah* saw this Number of People, he was not in the least discouraged, but turned himself about to the Saracens, and said, *The Apostle of God has said, That Paradise is under the Shadow of Swords; either we shall succeed, and then we shall have all the Plunder; or else die, and so the next way to Paradise.* The Words were no sooner out of his Mouth, but he fell upon them, and made a bloody Slaughter. When the Christians heard the Saracens make such a Noise, and cry out, *Allàh Acbar*, they were amaz'd and confounded, imagining that the whole Saracen Army had come from *Damascus*, and fallen upon 'em; which put them at first into a most terrible Consternation. But when they had taken time to consider and look about themselves a little, and saw that there was but a Handful of Men, they took Courage, and hemm'd them in round on every side; so that *Abdo'llah* and his Party were * like a little Island in the midst of the Ocean. As soon as *Abdo'llah Ebn Anîs* (the Reader is desired to observe the Distinction of Names, for a great many of 'em are very

* Arab. *Were like a white Spott in a Black Camel's Skin. A Camel being a Creature very frequent and very serviceable in the Eastern Countries, they often mention and allude to it in their Proverbs.*

very much alike) perceived that *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar* was in ſo much Danger, he immediately turn'd his Horſe, and rather flew than rode to *Abu Obeidah*, who asked him, what News ? *Ebn Anîs* told him, that *Abdo'llah, and all the Muſlemans with him were in apparent Hazard of being loſt ; and if they were not ſuccour'd inſtantly, would infallibly be cut all to Pieces.* And now 'twas high time to look out for *Caled* ; (none like him and *Derar* in a Caſe of Extremity) ſo *Abu Obeidah* turn'd to him, and ſaid, *I beg of thee, for God's ſake, not to fail me in this Exigency, but go and help thy Brethren the Muſlemans. Caled* ſwore, that if *Omar* had given the Command of the Army to a Child, he would have obey'd him ; adding, *That he would not contradict him, but reſpected him as one that came into the Profeſſion of the Mahometan Religion before himſelf.* All that were preſent were wonderfully pleas'd with *Caled*'s modeſt Anſwer ; which does indeed deſerve to be particularly taken notice of, eſpecially conſidering how lately he had been turn'd out of his Commiſſion. *Abu Obeidah* haſtened him, and he immediately put on his

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Armour. His Coat of Mail was that which he took from *Moseilamah*, the false Prophet. Then he put on his Helmet, and over that a Cap, which he called the *Blessed Cap*; it having received *Mahomet*'s Benediction. Upon which he valu'd it more than all his Armour besides, and us'd frequently to attribute his Security and Success to it. His Men were instantly ready, and away they flew with all possible speed: and if we consider the Circumstances, they had need make as much Haste as they did; for that small Number of Saracens which had made the first Attack, was quite drowned and overwhelmed in that great Multitude of Christians, and there was scarce any of them but what had more Wounds than one. In short, they were at their last Gasp, and had nothing left to comfort them but Paradise. Fighting in this desperate Condition, about Sun-set they saw the Dust fly, and Horsemen coming full speed, which did rather abate than add to their Courage; they imagining at first that they might be Christians. At last *Caled* appear'd, fierce as a Lyon, with his Colours flying in his Hand, and

and made up to *Abdo'llah*, who with much ado had born up his Standard all this while, and was now quite ſpent. But as ſoon as they heard *Caled*'s Voice, and ſaw the Mahometan Banner, the ſinking, drooping Saracens, who were ſcarce able to hold their Swords, as if they had had new Blood and Spirits infus'd into 'em inſtead of thoſe they had loſt, took freſh Courage, and all together rent the Skies with *Allàh Acbar*. Then *Abdo'llah* charg'd the Guard, which was round the Monaſtery, on the one ſide; and *Derar Abno'l Ezwâr* on the other. The Prefect of *Tripoli* himſelf was engaged with *Derar*, and was too hard for him, got him down, and lay upon him; at which time *Derar* ſecretly drew a Knife, which he us'd to carry about him againſt ſuch Occaſions, and ſtabb'd him. Then he mounted the Prefect's Horſe, and cry'd out *Allàh Acbar*. Whileſt *Derar* was engaged with the Prefect, *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar* had taken Poſſeſſion of the Houſe, but meddled with nothing in it, till *Caled* came back, who was gone in purſuit of thoſe Chriſtians he had beaten, and followed 'em

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

to a River which was between them and *Tripoli*. The Greeks, as ſoon as they came to the River, took the Water. *Caled* purſued them no farther; but when he came back, found the Saracens in the Monaſtery. They ſeized all the Spoil, Silks, Cloaths, Houſhold Stuff, Fruits and Proviſion, that were in the Fair; and all the Hangings, Money and Plate in the Houſe; and took the young Lady, the Governour's Daughter, and forty Maids that waited upon her. So they loaded all their Jewels, Wealth and Furniture, upon Horſes, Mules and Aſſes, and returned to *Damaſcus*, having left nothing behind them in the Houſe but the old Religious.

While the Saracens were driving away the Spoil, *Caled* called out to the old Prieſt in the Houſe, who would not vouchſafe him an Anſwer. When he call'd a ſecond time; *What would you have?* (ſaid the Prieſt) *Get you gone about your Buſineſs; and aſſure your ſelf, that God's Vengeance will light upon your Head, for ſpilling the Blood of ſo many Chriſtians. How can that be* (ſaid *Caled*) *when* * *God has commanded us to fight with you, and kill you? And if the Apo-*

* Alcoran, Chap. VIII. 40.

Apostle of God (of Blessed Memory) *had not commanded us to let such Men as you are alone, you should not have escaped any more than the rest, but I would have put you to a most cruel Death.* The poor Religious held his Peace at this, and answer'd him never a Word.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Abu Obeidah was all this while waiting with great Impatience, to hear what News. When they returned, he received them with all imaginable Expressions of Kindness and Affection, taking most particular Notice of *Caled* and *Abdo'llah.* Having taken out a * *Fifth*, he distributed the rest of the Spoil among the Soldiers. He gave to *Derar Ebno'l Azwâr* the Prefect of *Tripoli*'s Horse and Saddle, who made a Present of them to his Sister *Caulah.* She, as soon as she had them, picked out all the precious Stones and Jewels, of which there was a great Number in the Trappings and Saddle, and divided them among the Women of her Acquaintance. Then they presented the Prisoners to *Abu Obeidah*, among which was the Prefect's Daughter. *Abdo'llah* asked that he might have her; but *Abu Obeidah* desired him to stay till he could write to the *Caliph* about it,

* Alcoran, *Chap.* VIII. 42.

Omar. Alwákidi.

and have his Leave. *Omar* order'd him to let him have her, and he kept her till *Yezid*'s Reign, (which began in the Year 679.) who begg'd her of him, and had her. There were a great many rich Cloaths curiously wrought, in one of which was our Blessed Saviour, which was carried with the rest into *Arabia Fœlix*, and sold for ten times its Weight in Gold.* Whether the Esteem they had for the Person it represented, or the Fineness of the Work, rais'd it to such a Price, my Author does not determine; but I believe it was both. Then *Abu Obeidah* sent a Letter to the Caliph, in which he gave him a particular Account of this last Victory, and praised *Caled* extreamly; telling him how modestly and obediently he behav'd himself, and how well he perform'd; and desir'd that he would be so kind as to write to him, and encourage him, and keep up his Spirits: But I never yet have met with any Answer to that Particular; for the old Gentleman always turn'd a deaf Ear to every thing that was said in Praise of *Caled*; whatever the Matter was with him, 'tis most certain he did not like him. Among other Particulars which *Abu Obeidah*

* *Indeed there is no absolute Necessity of understanding that Price to be given only for that Piece, which had our Saviour wrought upon it; for the Author says, The embroider'd Cloth was sold so, but whether he meant only that Piece, or all the rest that was embroider'd, is uncertain.*

Omar. Alwakidi

Obeidah wrote of to the Caliph, he desired that he might either go and besiege *Antioch*, (then the Seat of the Grecian Emperor, who upon the taking of *Damascus* had ‖ remov'd from *Hems* thither or else *Jerusalem*, which he pleas'd. He acquainted him also, that the Muslemans had learn'd to drink Wine in *Syria*. The Messenger went with the Letter to *Medinah*, and found *Omar* with his Friends in the *Mosque*. When *Omar* had read the Letter, and came to that last Particular, he shew'd it to *Ali*, (afterwards Caliph) and ask'd him, what he thought on't? *Ali* gravely answer'd, that whoever drank Wine, should have fourscore Stripes upon the Soles of their Feet. *Omar* sent word to *Abu Obeidah* to deal with them accordingly, and swore, *That nothing would suit with those Fellows, but Poverty and Hardship; whereas it would better become them to direct their Intentions aright, and observe the Commands of their most mighty Lord, and serve him, and believe in him, and give him Thanks.* *Abu Obeidah* having receiv'd the Letter, punished the Offenders according to Order; and desir'd his Men, that if any of them were conscious to themselves of having been

‖ *Tho' some say his Residence was at* Antioch *before the Saracens came into* Syria.

Omar. Alwákidi.

guilty of this Fault, they would, as a Testimony of the Sincerity of their Repentance, offer themselves to undergo this Penance of their own Accord. Upon which a great many came in, and submitted to the Punishment voluntarily, having no Accuser but their own Conscience. Then he told them, that his design was to march to *Antioch*, against the Grecian Dog (for that was the best Compliment they could afford the Emperor.) The Saracens, according to their wonted Custom, encourag'd him to fight against the Enemies of God, and told him, they were ready at his Service. He told them, that he would go to *Aleppo* first, and then to *Antioch*. When they were ready to march, he called *Caled*, and order'd him to go in the Front, and take the Flag which *Abubeker* had given him at first, *viz.* the Black Eagle. With him went *Derar*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*, and several others of Note, with a considerable Number of Men. *Abu Obeidah* having placed in *Damascus* a Garrison of 500 Horse, under the Command of *Sefwân Ebn Amîr*, march'd after them. When he overtook them, he order'd *Caled* to ravage the Country all about

Hems

Omar. Alwakidi.

Hems and *Kennisrîn*, while he himself should go to *Baalbec*, (formerly call'd *Heliopolis*.) As he was upon his March towards *Baalbec*, when he came near *Jushiyah*, the Governour of *Jushiyah* came to meet him with a Present, and made a Truce with him for one whole Year; telling him, that if they conquer'd *Baalbec*, *Hems*, and *Labwah*, he should not stand in Opposition to him. *Abu Obeidah* consented, upon Condition, that he should pay him down four thousand Pieces of Gold, and fifty Silk Vests. This done, he goes forward in his March: As he was going, there came one upon a Camel, riding towards him full speed. When he drew near, *Abu Obeidah* knew him to be *Asâmah Ebn Zeid*; who, making his Camel kneel, alighted; and, having paid his Respects, deliver'd him the following Letter.

In

Omar. Alwâkidi

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From the Servant of God, Omar Ebn Alchitâb, *to his Lieutenant, Greeting. I praise the only God, besides whom there is no other; and I pray for his Prophet* Mahomet, *upon whom be the Blessing of God. There is no turning back the Decree and Determination of God; and he that is written an INFIDEL in the* **secret Book, shall have no Faith. My Speaking thus is occasion'd by* Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham, *of the Tribe of* Gassan, *who came to us with his Relations, and chief Men of his Tribe, whom I receiv'd and entertain'd kindly. They made Profession of the True Religion before me; and I was glad that God had strengthen'd the True Religion, and the Professors of it, by their Coming in, not knowing what was in † Secret. We went together on Pilgrimage to* Meccah, *and* Jabalah *went round the Temple ‡ seven times: as he*

**The Mahometans believe that there is kept in Heaven a Register of all Persons and Things, which they call* Allâuh ho'lineh-phoud, *the Table which is kept secret. In this Book all the Decrees of God, and whatsoever shall come to pass, are supposed to be Written.*

† *Arab.* Algaib, *which signifies whatsoever is secret and unknown to us, as things spiritual, invisible and future. It is frequently (in* Arab. *Authors opposed to what falls within the Compass of our Senses and Understanding.*

‡ *This is a Religious Ceremony used by all that go on Pilgrimage to* Meccah.

was

was going round, it chanc'd that a Man of the Tribe of Fezàrah *trod upon his Vest, so that it fell from his Shoulders.* Jabalah *turn'd himself about, and said,* Woe be to thee! Thou hast uncover'd my Back in the sacred Temple of God. *The Man swore that he did not design it: But* Jabalah *box'd him, broke his Nose, and beat out four of his Fore-Teeth. The poor Man hastned to me, and made his Complaint, desiring my Assistance. I commanded* Jabalah *to be brought before me, and ask'd him what mov'd him to beat his Brother Musleman after this Fashion, and knock his Teeth out, and break his Nose. He told me, that the Man had trod upon his Vest, and uncover'd his Back; adding, that if it had not been for the Reverence he bore to the holy Temple he would have killed him. I told him he had made a fair Confession against himself; and if the injured Person would not forgive him, I must proceed with him by way of* Retaliation.*

Omar. Alwákidi.

*Retaliation, or Lex Talionis, *whereby the offending Person is oblig'd to suffer the same Hurt which he doth to another, was commanded the Jews,* Exod XXI. 24. Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Hand for Hand, Foot for Foot: *And is expresly enjoined by* Mahomet, *Alcoran* II. 173. *who inserted a great many things which he had from the Jews. The modern Rabbins interpret this Command of the* Mosaical *Law, as if it were only a pecuniary Mulct. Don* Isaac Abarbanel *has a great many Arguments to prove that it ought not to be understood in a literal Sense. To instance in one or two: He asks, Whether if the offending Person*

Omar. Alwákidi.

liation. He answer'd, that he was a King, and the other a Peasant. I told him, no Matter for that, they were both Muslemans, and in that Respect equal. Upon which he desired that his Punishment might be deferred till the next Day. I ask'd the injur'd Person, whether he was willing to stay so long? To which he gave his Consent. In the Night, Jabalah *and his Friends made their Escape, and he is gone to the Grecian Dog; but I hope in God that he will give thee the Victory over him. Sit down before* Hems, *and keep close to it; and send thy Spies towards* Antioch, *for fear of the Christian* Arabs. *Health and Happiness, and the Blessing of God, be upon thee, and all the Muslemans.*

What might not be expected from a Government, in which there flourish'd such impartial Administration of Justice? *Abu Obeidah* having read over

an should have but one Eye or one Hand, he ought to be deprivd of either, because he had struck out an Eye or cut off another Man's Hand that had two? Again, How would it be possible for a Judge to inflict a Punishment, which should be exactly the same with the Injury, since that Stroke might prove mortal to one Man, which was not so to another; and so a Man might pay for a Wound which was not mortal, with the Loss of his Life. Thus far Abarbanel. *But the Practice of the Mahometans is contrary. Only the injured Person may if he pleases accept of any other Satisfaction; but if he comes to a Judge, and demands* Retaliation, *he is oblig'd to let him have it.*

the

Omar. Alwâkidi.

the Letter, first to himself, and then to the Muslemans, went on towards *Hems*, (whither *Caled* was gone before with a third Part of the Army) and sat down before it in *November*, in the * Year of our Lord 635. The Governour of the Town chanc'd to die that same Day that *Caled* came before it. The Inhabitants expected that the Saracens would have taken *Baalbec* in their Way, before they should have had their Company at *Hems*; and therefore were not so well provided to endure a Siege. Upon which Consideration, in hopes of gaining Opportunity to augment their Stores, they conclude to make Application to *Abu Obeidah*, to make a Truce with them, telling him, that if the Saracens conquer'd *Haleb* (*Aleppo*) *Alhâdir*, and *Kinnasrîn*, and beat the Emperor's Forces, they should willingly submit. *Abu Obeidah* consented to make a Truce with them for the space of one whole Year, and no longer, which was to commence on the first Day of *Dulhagjah* of the present Year, and expire on the last Day of the Month *Sjewâl*, in the following Year, being the fifteenth of the *Hegjrah*; upon

* Hegjrah 14. A. D. 635.

Omar. Alwakidi.

on Condition that they ſhould pay him down 10000 Pieces of Gold, and 200 Silk Veſts. The Ceſſation of Arms was no ſooner concluded upon, than the *Hemeſſens* open'd their Gates, and came out and kept a Market in the Saracen Camp. The Arabians, now enriched with the Spoils of the Country, gave them what they asked, and never ſtood for a Price; ſo that the Citizens turn'd the Penny well. In the mean time the Arabian Horſe foraged all about the Country, both far and near. Among the reſt *Mêſab Ebn Mohárib* brought in abundance of Spoil, Sheep and Oxen, with a great many Horſes and Camels loaden with Furniture, and 400 Captives, making moſt pitious Lamentation for the Calamity which had fallen upon them. *Abu Obeidah*, mov'd with Compaſſion, ask'd them why they did not come into the Profeſſion of the *Mahometan* Religion? and by that means ſecure their Lives and Fortunes, Wives and Children. They told him, that they were altogether ſurprized, not expecting any Hoſtilities from the Saracens, at that Diſtance they lived. *Abu Obeidah*, having ask'd Advice of the Muſlemans, and they

they referring it wholly to himself, set four Pieces of Gold upon every Head, as *Omar* had order'd him to do in such Cases, and laying Tribute upon them, and obliging them, every one in his respective Capacity, to assist the Muslemans as Opportunity should serve, gave them all their Cattle, Furniture, Wives and Children back again, having first enter'd all their Names, and the Places of their Habitation, in a Book kept for that purpose. The poor People were overjoy'd to find themselves in such a happy Condition, after the being plung'd into the Depth of Despair, and acquainted their Neighbours with what an unexpected Favour they had received at the Hands of the Saracens. This Conduct did greatly facilitate the Conquest of the Arabians; for whereas an unrelenting Cruelty would have made every one desperate, and have fought it out to the last drop of Blood; when they saw that there was a Possibility of enjoying their Religion, and a Competency, by submitting themselves to those who would otherwise have taken all that they had by Force, and either have murder'd them every one, or at best

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwâkidi.

best made them Slaves; a great many chose rather to embrace the former Condition while it might be had, than run the Hazard of falling into the latter. By this Means the Saracens were strengthen'd, for they made use of these People on all Occasions. They served them for Interpreters, for Guides when they march'd, and several other Purposes; and from them they received Advice of all the Motions of the Christians, and Intelligence of whatever was debated or taken in hand to their Disadvantage. Quickly after, the News of *Abu Obeidah*'s gentle Behaviour flew about the Country, a great many of the Greeks came in upon the same Terms, which he book'd and dismiss'd peaceably. The Inhabitants of *Alhâdir* and *Kinnisrîn* hearing this, entertained some Thoughts of following their Example; but privately, and without the notice of * *Luke* their Governour, who was a warlike Man, and resolv'd to make a vigorous Resistance. This *Luke* had an Antipathy against the Governour of *Aleppo*; insomuch that when *Heraclius* sent for them both to consult which way was best to manage the War, and both of them had assur'd him,

* *Some* Arab. *Authors call him* Matthias; *but they are, as I have observ'd before, very negligent in the Names of the Christians.*

him, they would do their beſt; they would not nevertheleſs join their Forces together, but look'd each Man to the Defence of his own Province. As ſoon as *Luke* underſtood that his People were diſpoſed to ſubmit themſelves to the Saracens, he was very much diſpleaſed; but diſſembling his Anger, in hopes of preventing their Deſign by Stratagem, he calls a Council, and asked their Advice. They told him that they underſtood that the *Arabs* were a People that received into their Protection ſuch as came to them, and uſed to ſtand to their Word: That ſince they had come into *Syria*, their conſtant Practice had been, to kill and make Slaves of all that oppoſed them; at the ſame time protecting thoſe in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions which ſubmitted to them. For which reaſon they thought it moſt adviſeable to follow the Example of their Neighbours. He anſwered, that they were in the right, and therefore he deſign'd to make a Truce with them, till the Emperor's Succours ſhould come up, and then oppreſs them when they leaſt ſuſpected it.

Omar. Alwákidl.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Upon this he dispatches *Astachar*, a Priest, a very learned Man, Master of the Arabick Tongue, and thoroughly versed in the Jewish and Christian Theology, with a Letter to the Saracen General; in which he magnified the Greatness of the Emperor, and the Strength of the Place; adding, that all Attempts upon it would be in vain, not only upon the Account of its being well fortified and furnished with Plenty of Military Stores, but because the Emperor was now raising a vast Army in *Europe*, which were shortly to be transported over the *Bosphorus*, and mustered at *Tyre*, for the Relief of *Syria*: That notwithstanding all these Advantages, they were nevertheless desirous to live at quiet, and were willing to have a Year's Truce, and the General should set a Mark at their Bounds; that when any of the Saracen Horse that foraged, came that way and saw the Sign, they should go no further to do any Mischief in their Country. That this Agreement of Truce was a Secret, and must not be known to *Heraclius* the Emperor, for fear of his Displeasure. With these Instructions *Astachar*

char goes to *Hems*, where he found the Mahometans at Prayers. Prayers done, *Abu Obeidah* admits him, and when he offer'd to bow down to the Ground, would not suffer him. When *Caled* had heard the Contents of the Letter, he did not like it, but shak'd his Head, and said, *That this did not look like the Stile of a Man that desir'd Peace in earnest*; and would fain have perswaded *Abu Obeidah* not to hearken to him. *But* (said he) *let us go to the Place, and by* * Mahomet *I'll make that City a Prey to the Muslemans, if it please God, and a Terror to the rest. Softly!* (said *Abu Obeidah*) *No Man knows the Hearts of Men, but God only. Well then*, answered *Caled*, *make no Agreement with them, unless it be for good and all; and if they will accept of this, well and good; if not, let them alone. I hope, by the Help of God, I shall be a Match for them.* *Astachar* was surpiz'd at *Caled*'s Roughness, and said, *That the Character which he had heard of the Arabs was not true; for the Christians had been informed that they were very gentle and courteous to all such Persons as came to seek their Protection: But now* (adds he) *I find the contrary, for I come to propose*

Omar. Alwákidi.

* Arab. Wahákkidini Resoul Allah. *By the Veracity or Truth of the Religion of the Apostle of God.* *Sometimes*, Wahàkki Resoul Allah. *As it may be in this Place.*

Omar. Alwákidi.

propose Terms of Peace, and you are not willing to accept them. To which *Caled* answer'd, that they were not willing to be impos'd upon, but had great reason to suspect the Sincerity of these Overtures; and if there should come any Assistance from the Emperor, and they saw any Advantage on their own side, they would be the first that would take up Arms against the Saracens, notwithstanding their present pretended Desire of Peace. However a Cessation of Arms should be granted for a Twelve-month, upon Condition, that if any Forces were sent by the Grecian Emperor, the Inhabitants of the City should keep themselves within their own Walls, and not stir out to their Assistance. This done, *Astachar* ask'd for a Copy of the Agreement, which *Abu Obeidah* having given him, he desir'd that there might be some Sign set up at the Limits of their Territories, that when the Soldiers saw it they might not forage in the Country. *Abu Obeidah* said, he would take care to have it done: But *Astachar* told him, he need not trouble any of his own Men, for they intended, with his Leave, to do it themselves. Accordingly

dingly the *Greeks* erected a *Pillar, upon the Top of which they carved the Grecian Emperor sitting upon his Throne. All Things being thus made easy for a while, between the Saracens and the Governour of *Kinnisrên*, there happen'd an unlucky Accident which had like to have occasion'd a Misunderstanding between them. Some of the Saracen Horse passing that way, and observing the curious Workmanship of the Pillar, admir'd it. They spent some Time in viewing it, riding past it backward and forward, and exercising themselves round about it. At last, as one of 'em past by it in a full Career, with his Javelin in his Hand; the Iron which was fastened in the lower end of the Javelin, accidentally struck out one of the Eyes of the carved Emperor. This taking Air, was misconstrued by the *Greeks* as a most vile Indignity offer'd to the Emperor in Effigie, and a manifest Breach of the Truce. Upon this Messengers are dispatch'd to *Abu Obeidah*, who expostulate the Injury with a great deal of Clamour, and insist upon Satisfaction. He declares, that his Intent was to keep his Word inviola-

Omar. Alwâkidi.

* *This same Story is in* Eutychius *his Annals.*

Omar. Alwákidi.

bly, and that he was well assur'd, that whoever did it, had no design to shew any Disrespect to the Emperor; and that the Sincerity of his Intentions might appear, proffer'd any reasonable Satisfaction. Nothing would satisfy them but Retaliation, and the Affront offer'd to the Emperor must be return'd upon the *Caliph*. In which Demand, when he that spoke, express'd himself unwarily, and talk'd of putting out one of *Omar*'s Eyes, the rude Saracens thinking he meant litterally as he spoke, were so inflam'd, that had not *Abu Obeidah* restrain'd them, by telling them, that these People wanted Sense, and must be born with, they had rushed upon them instantly, and killed 'em upon the spot. *Abu Obeidah* told 'em, that they might set up his Statue if they wou'd, and do what they pleas'd with it: But nothing would serve but the Statue of the *Caliph*. To which at last, wearied with Importunity, he consented. They having made a Statue to represent *Omar*, and put two Glass Eyes in the Head of it, order'd one of their Men to strike out one of 'em with a Lance. And thus, having receiv'd sufficient Reparation for the Injury receiv'd, they were very well pacify'd.

Abu

Omar. Alwâkidi.

Abu Obeidah continu'd at *Hems*, ſending out his Horſe to forage, and expecting with great Impatience the Expiration of the Truce, which had tied up his Hands from offering any Hoſtility within the Territories of *Hems*, *Alhâdir* and *Kinniſrin*. *Omar* in the mean time wondered at *Abu Obeidah*'s Silence, and not having heard of any conſiderable Action a long time, grew very angry: At laſt he wrote a ſhort ſnapping ſort of a Letter to *Abu Obeidah*, as follows:

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From Omar Ebno'l Chitâb, *to* Abu Obeidah Ebno'l Jerahh, *his Lieutenant in* Syria, *Greeting. I praiſe God, beſides whom there is no other; and I pray for his Prophet* Mahomet, *upon whom be the Bleſſing of God. I command thee to put thy Truſt in God; and I bid thee take heed that thou be not one of thoſe, concerning whom God* ſays;* † "SAY, "If your Parents, or Children, or "Friends, or Wives, or Families, or "the Riches you have gained, or the "Merchandice which you are afraid "you ſhould not ſell, or the Houſes "which

* *So they quote the Alcoran. But when they mention any of* Mahomet's *Sayings, they ſet down his Name.*

† *This is the twenty fourth Verſe of the Ninth Chapter of the* Alcoran. *In which, (as alſo in a Multitude of other Places)* Mahomet *introduces God ſpeaking to him thus,* SAY, *to the People* [If your Parents, *&c.*

Omar. Alwâkidi.

" which you delight in be dearer to
" you than God and his Apostle, and
" the fighting for his Service; stay till
" God shall accomplish what he has
" decreed. God does not direct those
" that do wickedly.

The Muslemans had no sooner heard the Letter, than they perfectly understood that *Omar* design'd by it to rebuke them for their Negligence *Abu Obeidah* repented himself heartily that he had granted a Truce to the Inhabitants of *Alhâdir* and *Kinnisrîn*, and all the Muslemans wept for orrow, because they had been so remiss in their Duty; and asked *Abu Obeidah*, why he sat still, and did not lead them forth to fight the * *Battles of the Lord*? desiring of him at the same time to leave *Kinnisrîn*, and march either to *Aleppo* or *Antioch*; before either of which were taken, the Truce would be expir'd. Upon this he had Thoughts of going to *Aleppo*; and having left *Salmah* with a Party of Horse at *Hems*, the first Place he came at was *Arrestân*; from thence he march'd to *Hamah*, (afterwards the Seat of the famous *Abu'lpheda*) and from thence to *Shaizar*; with all which

* *Arab.* Jehâd. Bellum Sacrum.

which Places he made Truce upon Conditions. At *Shaizar*, he receiv'd Information, that the Governour of *Kinnisrîn* (contrary to the Articles of Truce) had wrote to the Emperor for fresh Supplies; who had sent *Jabalah Ebno l Ayham* to his Assistance. Upon which, *Abu Obeidah* defers his intended March to *Aleppo*, designing to fall upon *Kinnisrîn*, as soon as the Truce should be expir'd, which did not now want quite a Month. The Governour of *Kinnisrîn* going out to meet *Jabalah*, and the Prefect of *Ammôuriyah* coming to his Assistance was unfortunately intercepted by *Caled*; who, having ventur'd upon that Undertaking with an inconsiderable Number of Men, escap'd the greatest Danger, being on every side surrounded with the Christians: After he had kill'd the Prefect of *Kinnisrîn*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* said to him, * *Our Time is come.* To which he answer'd, *That he believ'd so, because he had forgot his Cap, which us'd to do him such singular Service; and which he should not have left behind him, if it had not been so decreed:* But speedy Relief coming from *Abu Obeidah*, they were deliver'd beyond all Expectation.

Omar. Alwâkidi.

* *Arab.* Jâa Ajâlona.

Abu

Omar. Alwákidi.

Abu Obeidah, fully resolv'd now to besiege *Kinnisrîn*, sent a Party of Horse before, who forag'd and wasted all the Country round about. The Prisoners which they took were sent to the Caliph, and he took Care to put the Boys to the Writing School, according to the Command of their Prophet *Mahomet*; who, tho' he could neither write nor read himself, was very well sensible of the use of it. The Inhabitants of *Kinnisrîn* having lost their Governour, and being altogether out of Hopes of escaping, su'd for Protection, and submitted to pay Tribute, being first poll'd, according to *Omar*'s Order, at the Rate of four Ducats an Head. *Kinnisrîn* being taken, *Abu Obeidah* call'd his Muslemans together, and said, *Tell me* (*God bless you*) *your Advice*; *for God has said in the mighty Book*, (meaning the *Alcoran*) *to his Prophet* Mahomet, ASK THEIR ADVICE IN A MATTER, AND TRUST UPON GOD; *and the Apostle of God has said*, HE THAT TAKES ADVICE, IS SECURE; *shall we go to* Aleppo, *or* Antioch? They told him, that the time of the Truce which he had made with the neighbouring Places

Omar. Alwákidi.

Places was almoſt expir'd, and therefore they were of Opinion, that it would be moſt adviſable to take them in their way, before they mov'd any further into the Country; eſpecially they choſe to go to *Baalbec*, where they had Reaſon to expect a vigorous Oppoſition. *Abu Obeidah* hereupon, leaving *Caled* to beſiege *Hems*, march'd himſelf to *Baalbec*; where, when the Saracens came, they found themſelves not at all diſappointed in their Expectation; for the Place was very well fortified, and ſtor'd with warlike Proviſion. The Saracens intercepted a Caravan, with 400 Loads of Silks and Sugars, upon their Journey to *Baalbec*. *Abu Obeidah* put none of them to Death, (as not bearing Arms) but gave them Leave to ranſon themſelves. Some of them going to *Baalbec*, acquainted the Inhabitants with the Loſs of the Caravan; who under the Conduct of *Herbis* their Governour, went out in Hopes of recovering it, to the Number of ſix thouſand Horſe, attended with a Rabble of the undiſciplin'd Multitude; who imagining that the main Body of the Saracen Army had ſtill continu'd at *Hems*, and that the Caravan

Omar. Alwákidi.

van had been ſpoil'd only by a Party of Foragers; encountring with *Abu Obeidah* under ſo great a Diſadvantage, were overthrown and routed, *Herbis*, their General, receiving no leſs than ſeven Wounds, and with great Difficulty and Hazard retiring to the City. When *Abu Obeidah* came before it, the Saracens reſolv'd to beſiege it ſtreightly. *Meâd Ebn Jabal* told *Abu Obeidah*, that he knew the People of the Town were ready to tread one upon another, and he thought it could ſcarce contain them all; adding, *If we hold out againſt it, we hope that God will deliver it into the Hands of the Muſlemans; for God will not ceaſe to give the Earth for an Inheritance to his Servants the Saints, becauſe* * *he has ſaid, WE have written in the Pſalms, that my Servants the Saints ſhall inherit the Earth.* The next Day *Abu Obeidah* wrote a Letter to the Beſieg'd, in which he put them in Mind of the Victories God had already granted to the Faithful, over thoſe which oppoſed them, and offered to receive them, paying Tribute as others had done before them. This Letter he gave to a Country-man that was under their Protection, and a Reward of twenty Pieces

* Alcoran, Chap. XXI. 105

Omar. Alwákidi.

Pieces of Silver, ſaying, *That he was none of thoſe that would make uſe of any Man's Service, and not pay him for it.* The Meſſenger coming to the Wall, they let down a Rope, which he having tied about his middle, they drew him up. The Letter being read, (for *Abu Obeidah*, when he wrote to the *Greeks*, made uſe of a *Greek* Secretary) the Beſieged were divided in their Opinions, and a great many of them inclin'd to ſurrender; which *Herbis* the Governour was ſo averſe to, that he tore the Letter in Pieces, and threw it to the Meſſenger, commanding him to be forthwith ſent back again, which was all the Anſwer he vouchſafed to give to it.

The Saracens, upon this, beſieging the City, were bravely repuls'd by the Beſieged, who did them a great deal of Damage with their Engines planted upon the Walls. The Valour of the Citizens, together with the extreme Coldneſs of the Weather, made the Saracens glad to lay by their Aſſault. The next Morning, after Prayers were over, a Cryer went round the Camp, commanding in the General's Name, that never a Man of them ſhould ſtir, or

Omar. Alwákidi.

or do any thing else, before he got himself ready some hot Victuals. The Order was no sooner heard than obey'd, and every Man went to work for himself. Whilst they were in the midst of their Cookery, the Besieged sallied. The Saracens were immediately alarm'd. Among the rest, *Ahmed Ebn Aſed* was just a going to put his Hand to his Mouth, when *Abu Obeidah* struck him a good Blow with a Truncheon, and gave him a hearty Curse into the Bargain. The poor Man started up on a suddain, and like one scar'd out of his Wits, snatch'd up a Tent-pole, and ran and charg'd the Enemy, scarce knowing where he was, till he was got in the midst of them. The Saracens surpriz'd in this Disorder, did with much ado beat back the Besieged, who nevertheless carried off with them some Prisoners and Plunder. In the Evening the Chief of the Saracens met at *Abu Obeidah*'s Tent, and said, *You see the Courage of these People, what do you think to do in this Case?* To which he answer'd, *That the Damage sustain'd by the Saracens was decreed by God, who was pleas'd to honour those Persons that were kill'd with the Degree of Martyrdom.*

Then

Omar. Alwákidi.

Then he commanded them to remove their Tents to a greater Diſtance from the City, that they might have a larger Space for their Horſes to courſe in. He gave to *Saïd Ebn Zeid* the Command of 500 Horſe, and 300 Foot, with Orders to go into the Valley, and keep the *Greeks* in Play at that Gate, which was oppoſite to the Mountains, that their Forces might be divided, and they oblig'd to fight in Parcels. *Derar* was plac'd at that Gate which looks towards *Damaſcus*, with 300 Horſe and 200 Foot. The next Morning about Break of Day, *Herbis* the Governour, with a ſtrong Body of Men, ſallied out at that Gate where *Abu Obeidah* himſelf was poſted; encouraging his Men, and telling them, that the Saracens were afraid of them, and bidding them remember, that they fought for their Religion, Wives, Children, and Fortunes; in a Word, whatſoever was dear to them. They anſwer'd him chearfully, That though they were afraid of the *Arabs* at firſt, yet they were not ſo now, being a little better acquainted with their manner of fighting: Beſides, the *Arabs* were half naked; ſome of them fighting without

Ar-

Omar. Alwákidi.

Armour, others with ſcarce Cloaths enough to cover them; whereas (ſaid they) we have good Helmets, Breaſt-plates, and Coats of Mail. *Abu Obeidah* on the other ſide was not wanting to tell the Saracens that they muſt have Patience; *for God had promis'd good Succeſs to thoſe that held out to the laſt.* The *Greeks* encourag'd with Yeſterday's Victory, charg'd the Saracens home, and the Battle was maintain'd with great Obſtinacy on both ſides, yet ſo as the *Greeks* had apparently the Advantage. At that time *Sohail Ebn Sabah* received a Wound in his Right Arm, which diſabled him ſo, that he could not hold up his Sword: Upon which he alighted from his Horſe, and having told his Friends that he was no longer able to defend himſelf, retired out of the Battle to a neighbouring Hill; which having clamber'd up, not without ſome Pain and Difficulty, he had a clear Proſpect of both the Armies. The *Greeks*, as we ſaid, having ſallied out upon *Abu Obeidah*'s Quarters, there was nothing to do at thoſe Gates where *Derar* and *Saïd Ebn Zeid* were poſted. *Sohail* obſerving this, and that *Abu Obeidah* was forc'd to give Ground, without

out any Order from the General, or any Person's knowing it, kindled a Fire, and with some green Sticks, made a great Smoak upon the Top of the Hill. Assoon as *Saïd* and *Derar* perceived it, they imagin'd it to have been a Signal from the General for them to come up, that being the most usual Signal among the Saracens by Day, as Fire was by Night, when they had a Mind to call those together, who were posted at any Distance. Upon this *Derar* and *Saïd* rode with their Men full speed, and came seasonably to the Relief of their Brethren: For the *Greeks* by this time thought themselves secure of the Victory; but finding themselves surrounded, the Case was quite alter'd with them; and they who so few Minutes ago expected to have won the Field, now despair'd of getting back to their own City: However, they joining close together, and fighting bravely, made an impenetrable Phalanx; which, maugre all Opposition, gain'd the Top of an Hill, on which there stood an old deserted Monastery, whither *Herbis* and his Men retir'd, and stood upon their own Defence. *Abu Obeidah* who as yet knew nothing of *Saïd* and *Derar*'s being come

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

from the Places where he had poſted them, perceiving with what undaunted Courage theſe Men fought, imagined their Retreat feign'd, only with a Deſign to draw the Saracens out of Order, and therefore would not let his Men purſue them. But *Saïd Ebn Zeid* hearing nothing of the General's Order, follow'd them to the Top of the Hill. There leaving one in his Room with Orders not to ſuffer a Man to ſtir out of the Houſe, he with twenty of his Men went to acquaint *Abu Obeidah* with the News. Who ſeeing him come with ſo few, was ſurpriz'd, and ask'd him what was become of the reſt. *Saïd* told him, they were all ſafe and ſound, and had beſieg'd the Enemies of God (a Compliment they are very liberal of to the Chriſtians) in an old Houſe, acquainting him with all the Circumſtances of the Story. Then *Abu Obeidah* enquir'd of him and *Derar*, what made them ſtir from their Poſts? *Saïd* ſwore, that he did nothing contrary to order, for he never ſtir'd till he ſaw the Smoak. *Abu Obeidah* confeſs'd that it was well they came, for he was afraid the *Greeks* would have ſeiz'd their Camp, and wiſhed for them,

them, or for ſome Body to make Smoak. *Saïd* again poſitively affirming that there was a Smoak, *Abu Obeidah* was aſtoniſh'd, and made Proclamation throughout the Camp. *Whoever he be that kindled the Fire, and Smoak upon the Hill, let him ſpeak*; and this with an Abjuration. Upon this *Sohail* came forth, and confeſs'd it, and told the reaſon why he did it. *Abu Obeidah* was very glad it happen'd ſo well, but charged them all ſtrictly, that none of them ſhould ever dare to attempt any ſuch thing again, without the Permiſſion of their General.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Whileſt *Abu Obeidah* was talking to *Sohail*, a Saracen came with all ſpeed from the Mountain, and alarm'd the whole Camp. *Herbis* perceiving by how ſmall a Number he was beſieged in the Houſe, being now fewer than 500, took Courage, and ſallied, in hopes of recovering the City. They fought bravely, and handled the Saracens at ſuch a rate, that *Meſab Ebn Adi*, who was preſent in moſt of the Battles fought in *Syria*, ſaid, that of all he ever beheld, he never ſaw any Men behave themſelves better, nor ſtand cloſer to it, than thoſe *Greeks* which were

Omar. Alwákidi.

then with the Governour. It was he that rode and gave notice to *Abu Obeidah*, who had no ſooner heard it, than he diſpatched *Saïd* with an Hundred Archers, and commanded *Derar* to aſſiſt him. When they came to the Hill, they found their Friends in a pitiful Condition, for there were no leſs than ſeventy Saracens upon the Ground, wounded or killed, and the *Greeks* laid about them very eagerly. But overpower'd with freſh Numbers of their Enemies, they were forc'd once more to retire to their Monaſtery, where they were watched with ſuch a vigilant Eye, that one of them could not ſo much as offer to peep out, but the Saracens let fly an Arrow at him.

Abu Obeidah leaving *Saïd Ebn Zeid* to take care of the Governour, drew up his Men, and ordered them to pitch their Tents about the City; *For* (ſays he) *God has circumvented your Enemy, and perform'd that Promiſe which he made to us, to help us,; and this is becauſe God is a Protector of thoſe who put their Truſt in him; but as for the Infidels, they have no Protector.* *Herbis*, the Governour, finding himſelf ſtreighten'd, began to repent

Omar. Alwákidi.

repent himſelf that ever he came into that old Houſe. He conſidered with great Concern, that in a very ſhort time he and his Men muſt needs be reduced for want of Proviſion. Nor could any about him, ſuppoſing they could have found a Poſſibility of ſending, think of any Perſon capable of aſſiſting them in theſe deplorable Circumſtances. The Saracens having taken ſo many Places already, had ſpread ſuch a Terror around the Country, that thoſe which remained were under too great a Concern for their own Preſervation, to be at leiſure to lend an helping Hand to their diſtreſs'd Neighbours. A great many others had by Agreement to a Truce, rendered themſelves incapable of bearing Arms at that time againſt the Saracens. In this miſerable State, no other Proſpect offering it ſelf, compelled by Neceſſity, they were forced to ſurrender themſelves into the Hands of their Conquerors. *Herbis* calls out aloud, and asks if there were any Perſon that underſtood him. Being asked by an Interpreter what he would have; he deſired that he might be ſecur'd from Danger of the Archers, and that *Saïd* would come

Omar. Alwákidi.

near and talk with him. *Saïd* answer'd, that he ow'd him no such Respect; but if he had any thing to say, he might come to him. Loath to venture himself, he, by means of the Interpreter, got leave to send a Messenger, who coming before *Saïd*, offer'd to fall down upon his Face by way of Respect. *Saïd* made a Sign to him to forbear, and the Saracens came about him, and held him from doing it; Of which he having asked the reason, *Saïd* said to the Interpreter, *Because both he and I are Servants of God, and it is not lawful to use Adoration and Worship to any but God, who is the proper Object of Worship.* Being examin'd about his Errand, he said, that he came to desire Protection for *Herbis* and his Men; which was accordingly granted, upon Condition, that they should lay down their Arms, and surrender themselves. The Messenger ask'd, whether that Security was only from himself, or from the General too? *Saïd* told him, from all the Saracens. When *Herbis* heard this, he came out, and my Author tells us, that he has learnt from Persons worthy of Credit, that *Herbis* when he came out to surrender

render himſelf, put off all his Silks, and exchanging with ſome of his Men, put on Woollen Apparel, ſuiting his Habit to the Meaneſs of his preſent Condition. *Saïd* ſeeing him come along in this humble Mien fell down and worſhipp'd God, ſaying, *Praiſed be God, who was humbled their great Ones before us, and given us Dominion over their Rulers.* Then he went to meet him, and bad him come nearer, and ſit down by him; and asked him, whether that which he had on was his proper Habit? To which he anſwer'd, *That he never had any Woollen on before in his Life, nor knew what it was to wear any thing but Silk.* He demanding of *Saïd*, whether he had Power, or was willing to grant Security, as well for thoſe in the City as thoſe preſent with him? *Saïd* told him, *That as for thoſe that were with him he would grant them Security, upon two Conditions; Either that they ſhould turn Mahometans, and ſo have one common Intereſt with them: Or, if they choſe rather to continue in the Profeſſion of their own Religion, they ſhould never more bear Arms againſt the* Muſlemans. *But as for thoſe in the City, they were at the General's Diſpoſal;*

Omar. Alwakidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

to whom if he was willing to go, he proffer'd his Service to conduct him; and if they could agree upon any Terms, well and good: If not, he ſhould, if he deſired it, have free Leave, with as many of his Men as were willing to go back with him, to return to his Monaſtery again? there to be beſieged till God ſhould determine the Matter between them.

Being brought into the Preſence of *Abu Obeidah*, and taking a View of the *Saracens* about him, conſidering at the ſame time what a Condition they had brought him and his Men into, he ſhak'd his Head, and bit his Fingers Ends for Indignation. Being ask'd what was the reaſon of that Behaviour? he anſwer'd, *That he thought their Number had been much greater than he found it was, now he was come among them. Abu Obeidah* bad his Interpreter tell him, *That the Number of the true Believers ſeemed greater in the Eyes of the Idolaters than it really was; becauſe the Angels helped them, as they did at the Battle of* Beder, *which is the Grace of God towards us; and by this means God gives us the Victory over your Country, and makes your Armies flee before us.* That the Angels help'd *Mahomet* in Battle,

Omar. Alwakidi.

Battle, he has expresly told them in the * *Alcoran*; and they believ'd and depended upon the same Assistance, and oftentimes attributed their Success to it; not that any of them pretended ever to have seen these Auxiliary Troops of militant Angels; it being sufficient for their Purpose to be seen by their Enemies. *Herbis* offer'd for the whole City of *Baalbec* 1000 Ounces of Gold, 2000 of Silver, and 1000 Silk Vests. *Abu Obeidah* told him, *If they would have Peace, they must double the Sum, and add to it a Thousand Swords, and all the Arms belonging to those Men that were shut up in the Monastery, and pay Tax and Tribute the next Year, and never bear Arms for the time to come, nor write to the Emperor, nor attempt either directly or indirectly, any thing against the Saracens, nor build any Churches or Monasteries. Herbis* complaining of the Severity of the Articles, as being all in Favour of the *Saracens*, desired that the Besieged might at least have this one Article on their side; *viz. That whosoever should be appointed Lieutenant over* Baalbec, *should not come into the City, nor any of his Men; but pitching his Tents on the out-side of the Walls, should there receive the*

* *Chap.* IX. 26, 40.

Omar Alwákidi.

the Tribute impos'd upon the Inhabitants. This being granted, all was agreed upon, only there wanted the Townsmens Consent; who having heard of the Articles, did not approve of them, and said, they would never surrender the strongest City in *Syria* into the Hands of the Saracens, upon such Terms; But when *Herbis* had remonstrated to them the Danger to which he and his Men must be expos'd, if there were not some Agreement made, and the Provision he had made for their Repose and Quiet, in excluding all the Saracens from once entering into the Town; adding withal, that he would lay down a fourth part of what was impos'd upon them himself, they at last consented. *Herbis* alone going into the City to raise the promis'd Sum, *Abu Obeidah* detain'd all the rest of his Men as Hostages, till it should be paid. In twelve Days time he brought it; upon which *Abu Obeidah* dismiss'd the Men, and calling for *Raphi Ebn Abdo'llah*, left him to take Care of *Baalbec* with 500 Saracens, giving him a most strict Charge to do nothing but what was right and just, telling him that he had heard the Prophet say, That God had com-

Omar. Alwákidi.

commanded *Moses* and *David* the same thing. He bad him prevent all manner of Disturbance between his Men and the Inhabitants of the City, and have an Eye to the Sea-shore, and pillage all those Places in the Neighbourhood, which had not enter'd into Articles. Having left him with this Charge, he moved towards *Hems*; and before he came thither, the Prefect of *Jushiya* met him with a Present, which he accepting, renew'd the Truce with him.

Raphi very punctually executed his Charge, and both he and his Men behav'd themselves so inoffensively, that the Citizens and the Saracens grew very well acquainted. The Saracens, according to their Custom, plundering all the Neighbourhood, sold what they got to the Citizens, who began to be in a fair way of growing rich with the Spoils of their Country-men and Fellow-Christians. *Herbis*, formerly their Governour, perceiving this, began to consider which way he might bring himself in for a share of the Gains: Wherefore, calling them together, he represented what Hazard he had expos'd himself to for their Preservation, whilst it was in

Omar. Alwákidi.

in his Power, and what Pains he had taken to procure them thoſe Articles of Peace, of which they now reap'd the Benefit; beſides the paying down, at his own proper Expence, the fourth part of what was impos'd upon them all; adding, that he thought it nothing but reaſonable, that ſince they were in a Capacity, he ſhould be reimburs'd. This was conſented to without any Oppoſition; but he told them, that he did not deſire to deprive any of them of any part of their Subſtance, but only they ſhould agree to pay him the Tenth of what they ſav'd in their Trading with the *Arabs*. They were at firſt very unwilling to come to this; but after Debate, conſidering his Quality, as having been once their Governour, tho' now reduc'd to the ſame Condition with themſelves, and that when Neceſſity requir'd it, he had not ſpar'd his own private Subſtance for the publick Good, they at laſt agreed to it. This done, he appoints a Tith-man to gather it, and in a few Days it amounted to a very conſiderable Sum. The Sweetneſs of this Gain, inſtead of extinguiſhing, encreas'd his Thirſt; whereupon in a ſecond Meeting he told them, that it

Omar. Alwákidi.

it would be a long time before what he had laid out would be repaid at this Rate, and propos'd, that either they ſhould admit him one of their Company, or elſe inſtead of a Tenth, pay him a Fourth Part of all their Gains. The People, vex'd to the Heart at this ſqueezing, inſatiable Temper, cry'd out, *Away with him, and all ſuch unreaſonable Wretches, we had better be governed by the Saracens than ſuch; for they are better, and more juſt*; and with a great Noiſe and Shout ruſh'd upon him, and killed him. The Saracens without heard the Noiſe, but did not know what was the Matter; neither would *Raphi* go into the City contrary to the Agreement, but ſaid, if there was any Difference between them, and they came out to him, he would endeavour to make them Friends. Preſently after they came thronging out to him, and acquainted him with what they had done; how civil they were to their Prefect, in anſwering his firſt Demand, and how unreaſonable he had been in coveting more, deſiring *Raphi* to come into the City, and govern it himſelf; which he refus'd, till he had wrote to *Abu Obeidah*; who ſent him Word

Omar. Alwákidi.

Word, that ſince the People were willing, he ought not to ſcruple it: Upon which he and his Men went into *Baalbec*, on the twentieth Day of *January*, in the Year of our Lord, ſix hundred and thirty ſix.

Hegjrah 15. A. D. 636.

Leaving *Baalbec*, we muſt now march to *Hems*; before which *Abu Obeidah* having brought his Army, before any Attempt made upon it, ſent to the Governour the following Letter.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerâhh, *Lieutenant in* Syria *to the Emperor of the Faithful* Omar Ebn Alchitâb, (*whom God bleſs*) *and General of his Forces. The moſt mighty God has conquer'd ſeveral Places by our Hands; wherefore do not let the Greatneſs of your City, nor the Strength of your Buildings, nor the Plenty of your Stores, nor the Bigneſs of your Bodies, deceive you; For your City is no more in our Hands, when we come to war againſt it, than if we ſhould ſet a Pot upon a Stone in the midſt of our Camp, and all the Army ſhould come round about it, to take every one of them a mouthful. In the firſt Place therefore, I invite you to our Re-*

Religion, and that Law which our Prophet Mahomet, *of bleſſed Memory, brought us. Which if you ſhall receive, then ſhall you partake with us in all our Fortunes good and bad; and we will ſend you Men to inſtruct you in your Religion, as God has commanded us. If you refuſe the Mahometan Religion, we ſhall continue you in your Poſſeſſions, paying Tribute. If neither of theſe Conditions pleaſe you, come out and fight us, till God, who is the beſt Judge, ſhall determine between us.*

Omar. Alwákidi.

This being no ſooner receiv'd than rejected with the utmoſt Scorn, both Sides prepar'd themſelves, the Saracens for an Aſſault, the Beſieged for their Defence. The Beſieged ſallying, made ſo good a Days Work of it, that the Saracens had little Reaſon to boaſt of their Victory. There was preſent a great Man among the *Arabs*, a Perſon of extraordinary Sagacity and Penetration, and himſelf many times commanded an Army with good Conduct and Succeſs: He, conſidering well the Strength of the Place, and the Courage and Reſolution of the Inhabitants, told *Abu Obeidah* privately, that he might ſooner expect to conquer *Hems* by Stratagem,

Omar. Alwákidi.

tagem, than Force of Arms, and propos'd to him to raiſe the Seige, if he could induce the Beſieged to let him have five Day's Proviſion for his Men and Horſes, upon that Condition: By which Means their Stock of Proviſion would be very much Diminiſh'd, and he might take a fit Opportunity of ſurprizing them. This Advice being approv'd, *Abu Obeidah* acquainted the Beſieged with his Deſign of intermitting the Siege of *Hems*, and trying his Fortune at other Places, of which there ſtill remain'd unconquer'd a great Number in *Syria* very well fortify'd, upon the Condition afore-mentioned. The People willing at any Rate to get rid of ſuch troubleſome Neighbours, conſidering withal thoſe many Accidents that might prevent their ever returning thither, or at leaſt defer it a long time, eaſily aſſented. The Governor himſelf being as willing as any to compound with the Saracens upon theſe Terms, told his People, That the *Arabs* were like wild Beaſts, greedy of Prey; wherefore he thought it the beſt way to give them ſomething to fill their Bellies, and ſend them packing. Upon this he ſends ſome of the chief Clergy to *Abu Obeidah*, to make the Agreement,

Omar. Alwákidi.

greement, and take a Copy of the Articles: Which being done, the Citizens brought out their Provision, according to the Agreement. *Abu Obeidah* told them, that since their intended March was likely to be tedious, he should be very glad to buy the Remainder of their Provision. The People were willing to sell, and the Mahometans bought as long as they had any thing left to buy withal, or exchange for.

Some Spies belonging to the Emperor, being at that time in the Saracen Camp, and perceiving the *Emessens* set open their Gates, and bring out their Provisions, without taking time to inform themselves thoroughly of the Cause of it, went and spread a Report about the Country, that *Hems* was surrender'd, to the great Surprize and Discouragement of the rest, who had their Hearts daily fill'd with the increasing Terror of the Saracens. *Abu Obeidah* from *Hems* went to *Arrestân*, a strong Place, well water'd, and full of Soldiers; where his Summons being rejected, he desir'd the Favour of the Governour of the Castle to leave some old Lumber, which would be troublesome and cumbersome to them in their

Omar. Alwâkidi.

ſpeedy March. This was without much Scruple granted, all being deſirous of their Abſence upon any Terms. Upon this he takes twenty Cheſts, and encloſing in them twenty choſen Men; to prevent all Suſpicion, puts Locks upon the Out-ſides of them, the Bottoms of the Cheſts being ſo contriv'd, as to ſlip backward and forward as he within pleaſed. Theſe receiv'd into the Caſtle, the Saracens march'd, only *Caled* was left with ſome Forces, by way of Ambuſcade, to aſſiſt thoſe in the Cheſts. The Saracens gone, the Chriſtians went to Church to give Thanks for the Departure of their Enemies, and were heard ſinging Pſalms by *Derar*, *Abdo'rrhamân*, and *Abdo'llah* in the Cheſts, who taking this Opportunity, came forth, and having ſeiz'd the Governor's Lady, demanded the Keys of the Gates. From thence they went to the Church, where they, without Difficulty, ſurpriz'd the unarm'd Multitude. Then *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar*, who commanded them, ſent five of them with the Keys to open the Gates, and cry out *Allâh Acbar*; which done, *Caled*, who was within hearing, came up, and *Arreſtân* was taken without Oppoſition. This

Omar. Alwákidi.

This made the Conditions much more easy to the Inhabitants, the *Saracens* not expecting such an unbloody Conquest. Wherefore, they resigning themselves without any more to do, had their Liberty granted to go where they pleas'd. Some of 'em chang'd their Religion, tho' the greater Number still retain'd their Christianity, and went to *Hems*.

Two Thousand Men being left in Garrison at *Arrestân*, *Abu Obeidah* moves with his Army to *Shaizar*. He had no sooner sent his Summons, than there arose a great Dispute about surrendring the Place: The Conquest of *Arrestân*, *Baalbec*, *Damascus*, *Bostra*, and as they suppos'd of *Hems*, gave them just reason to fear, that they should not be able to defend *Shaizar*, not superiour to those Places, either in Strength of its Situation, or Number of its Soldiers. The Governor held out obstinately, and gave them a great deal of reproachful Language, swearing, and cursing them, and commanded his Servants to strike some of them. The chief Men, provok'd at this tyrannical Usage, drew their Swords, and fell upon him and his Party. Having

Omar. Alwákidi.

made a quick Dispatch of them, they open'd the Gates, and surrender'd to *Abu Obeidah*, who receiv'd 'em very gladly, and gave them hearty Thanks for saving him the Trouble of Fighting: adding, *That since they had behav'd themselves so well, and express'd such a Desire of living under the Government of the Saracens, he would not dismiss them without some distinguishing Mark of his Favour.* Upon which he told 'em, *That he would not force any of them to change their Religion against their will, nor put them to any Extremities; but if any of them would come in of their own accord, they should pay no Tax or Custom, as other Mahometans did, for two Years. If they chose to continue in their old Religion, they should pay no Tribute for the space of one Year.*

Shaizar was now taken into Possession, and *Abu Obeidah* reminded his Muslemans, that they were no longer under any obligation to the People of *Hems*, having punctually perform'd whatever they had promis'd them. The Governor of *Hems* was not so well satisfy'd, for as soon as the Saracen Army came to appear before the City, he sent a Messenger to expostu-

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late with *Abu Obeidah* his Perfidy and Breach of Promise: Who gave him no other Answer, than that he desir'd those Clergy who had made the Agreement with him first should come to him again, and let themselves be Judges whether or no he had fulfill'd his Promise to a Tittle. Upon their coming, he ask'd them, *Did not I make an Agreement with you, to leave* Hems, *till I had conquer'd some other City of* Syria? *And was it not left to my Liberty after that, either to go to any other Place, or return to you?* When this could not be denied, *Well then,* answer'd he, *since we have conquer'd* Arrestân *and* Shaizar, *we are under no further Obligation to you, and there remains nothing, but that you surrender.*

Omar. Alwakidi.

There being no Remedy left, nor any one whom they might justly blame but themselves, for not having taken better Care at first, they prepar'd to fight. The Inhabitants, tho' not a little dishearten'd when they reflected upon their Scarcity of Provision, to which their unseasonable Credulity had expos'd them; encourag'd by their Governour, resolv'd to try their For-

Omar. Alwákidi.

tune in the Field. That Evening they went to Prayers, to implore the Divine Assistance, the Governor himself receiving the Communion at St. *George*'s Church, (since turn'd into a Mosque.) When he came back, he eat for his Supper a whole roasted Kid, and sat up drinking Wine all Night. Thus prepar'd for Battle, having put on very rich Cloaths, he sally'd out in the Morning at the Head of five Thousand Horse, compleatly arm'd, all Men of approv'd Courage, and resolv'd to die for the Defence of their Country. And tho' the *Saracens* came out against them with a much greater Number, yet they nevertheless stood their Ground, without the least Expression of Fear or Concern. The Christian Archers gall'd the Saracens terribly with poison'd Arrows, and charg'd them with such Courage, that they were forc'd to give way. Whil'st *Caled* was labouring to restore the Battle, he made a very narrow Escape; for, engaging with one of the *Greeks*, his Sword broke in his Hand: Upon which, closing with his Adversary, he squeez'd him so close to him that he broke his Ribbs, and threw him down dead off

from

from his Horse. About Noon, *Mirkâl* and *Meisarah* made an Impression upon the Right Wing of the Christians, and *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* upon the Left. But among all the *Saracens*, none signalized himself so much that Day as *I'krimah*, *Caled*'s Cousin: He, thirsting after the imaginary Joys of *Mahomet*'s Fools Paradise, cry'd out aloud, *Methinks I see the black-ey'd Girls looking upon me, one of which, if she should appear in this World, all Mankind would die for the Love of her. And I see in the Hand of one of them an Handkerchief of green Silk, and a Cup made of precious Stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, for I love thee.* With these Words charging the Christians, he made Havock where he went, till observ'd at last by the Governour of *Hems*, he was struck through with a Jav'lin. When Night parted them, the *Saracens* return'd to their Camp, having had the worst of it all that Day. *Caled*, assuring himself that this Success would easily induce the *Greeks* to believe the Saracens afraid of them, perswaded *Abu Obeidah* to fly before 'em the next Morning, to draw them into Disorder. Nor did this Advice

Omar. Alwâkidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

fail of the desir'd Success; for the *Greeks* had beaten 'em too well the Day before, to entertain the least Suspicion that their Flight was feign'd. Whereupon, pursuing them unwarily, and out of Order, they were about Noon surrounded by the returning *Saracens*; *Who*, to use my Author's own Expression, *fell upon them like Eagles upon a Carcase*. Some of the *Greeks* had ventur'd to plunder the *Saracens* Tents; but whilst they were differently employ'd, some in the Pursuit, others in the Spoil, the far greater part of 'em were intercepted by the *Saracens*; nor had any of 'em escap'd, unless reliev'd by some of the Besieged sallying from the City. The Governour fell among the rest, easily distinguish'd by his red Face, large Size, and rich Apparel, perfum'd with Musk. This Defeat determin'd the Besieg'd to surrender; but the *Saracens*, who having heard so often of the Emperor's Preparation against them, expected a bloody Battle daily, had no leasure to stay and take Possession, nor any Men to spare by way of Garrison. Wherefore they took the Christians at their Word, and never a Man of them went into the City.

Omar. Alwákidi.

City, till after the great Battle of *Yermouk*, which determin'd the Fate of *Syria*, and put the *Saracens* out of all Fear of ever meeting from the Emperor the like Opposition. The *Saracens* departed from *Hems*, having lost that Day 235 Men. The Christians burying their Dead, found 'em above one Thousand six Hundred.

HERACLIUS, weary'd with a constant and uninterrupted Succession of Messengers of ill News; which, like those of *Job*, came every Day treading one upon the Heels of another; griev'd at the Heart to see the *Roman* Empire, once the Mistress of the World, now become the Scorn and Triumph of *Barbarian* Insolence; resolv'd, if possible, to put an End to the Outrages of the *Saracens* once for all; and, in order to it, rais'd such an Army out of all Parts of his Dominions, as, since the first Invasion of the *Saracens*, had never appear'd in *Syria* before. Not much unlike one engag'd in single Combat, who, distrustful of his own Abilities, and fearing the worst, summons together his whole Strength, in Hopes of ending the Dispute with one determining Stroke.

Forces

Omar. Alwakidi.

Forces were sent to all defensible Places, which this Inundation of the *Saracens* had as yet left untouch'd: Particularly to *Cæsarea*, and all the Sea-Coast of *Syria*; as *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Accah*, *Joppa*, *Tripolis*, *Beirout*, and *Tiberias*, besides another Army to defend *Jerusalem*. But the main Body of all, which was design'd to give Battle to the whole Forces of the *Saracens*, was commanded by one *Mahân*, an *Armenian*, which I take to be the very same that the *Greek* Historians call *Manuel*. When the Emperor had given the Generals his best Advice, and charg'd 'em to behave themselves like Men, and especially to take Care that there was no Differences nor Dissentions among themselves: He ask'd 'em what should be the Reason of this surprizing Success of the *Arabs*, inferior to the *Greeks*, both in Number, Strength, Arms and Discipline? After a short Silence a grave Man stood up, and told him, *That the Reason was, because the Greeks had walked unworthy of their Christian Profession, and changed their Religion from what it was when* Jesus Christ *first delivered it to them, injuring and oppressing one another, taking Usury, com-*

Omar. Alwákidí.

committing Fornication, and fomenting Strife and Variance among themselves. And indeed the Vices of these Christians were at that time so flagrant, as to make them stink in the Nostrils of the very *Infidels*, † confess'd by the *Greek* Writers themselves, and aggravated by the *Arabick* ones. The Emperor answer'd, *That he was too too sensible of it*; adding, *That he had Thoughts of continuing with them there no longer; but leaving his Army to their Management, would withdraw himself to* Constantinople. In answer to which, they represented to him, how much his Departure would reflect upon his Honour, what a lessening it would be to him in the Eyes of his own Subjects, and what occasion of Triumph it would afford to his Enemies the *Saracens*. Upon this they took their Leave, and prepar'd for their March: *Mahân*, besides a vast Army of *Asiaticks* and *Europeans*, having join'd to him *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*, King of the Christian Arabs, who had under him sixty Thousand Men. These *Mahân* commanded to march always in the Front, saying, *There was nothing like Diamond to cut Diamond.* This great Army, rais'd for the

† Οὐτῶ ὁ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τότε ὑπὸ τε τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν δυσσεβῶν Ἱερέων ταραττομένης, ἀνέστη ὁ ἐρήμικος Ἀμαλὴκ τύπλων ἡμᾶς τὸν λαὸν τῶ Χεισῶ, καὶ γίνεται πρώτη φόρα πλώσις τῶ ῥωμαϊκῶ Στράτω, ἢ καθὰ τὸ Γαβιδὰν λέγω καὶ Ἱερμυχὰν καὶ τὴν ἀθεσμον αἱμαλοχυσίαν. Theophan. p. 276.

Omar. Alwákidi.

the Defence of Christian People, was little less insupportable than the *Saracens* themselves, committing all manner of Disorder and Outrage as they pass'd along, especially when they came to any of those Places which had made any Agreement with the *Saracens*, or surrender'd to them, they swore and curs'd, and revil'd the Inhabitants with reproachful Language, and compell'd them by Force to bear them Company. The poor People excus'd their Submission to the *Saracens*, by their Inability to defend themselves, and told the Soldiers, that if they did not approve of what they had done, they ought themselves to have come sooner to their Relief.

The News of this great Army having reach'd the *Saracens* Ears, whilst they were at *Hems*, fill'd them full of Apprehensions, and put them to a very great Streight which way to manage in this critical Juncture. Some of them would very willingly have shrunk back, and return'd to *Arabia*: In which they propos'd to themselves a double Advantage, speedy Assistance from their Friends, and the great Scarcity to which the numerous Army of

Omar. Alwâkidi.

of the Enemy must needs be reduced in that barren Country; but *Abu Obeidah* fearing least such a Retreat might by the *Caliph* be interpreted Cowardice in him, durst not approve of this Advice. Others rather chose to die in the Defence of those stately Buildings, fruitful Fields, and pleasant Meadows they had won by the Sword, than retire Voluntiers to their former starving Condition; and propos'd to stay there where they were, and expect the Approach of the Enemy. *Caled* was not for staying there, it being too near *Cæsarea*, where *Constantine* the Emperor's Son lay with 40000 Men; but propos'd to march to *Yermouk*, where they might expect Assistance from the *Caliph*. As soon as *Constantine* heard of their Departure, he sent a chiding Letter to *Mahân*, and bad him mend his Pace. *Mahân* advanc'd, but made no Haste to give the *Saracens* Battle, having receiv'd Orders from the Emperor to make Overtures of Peace, which were no sooner propos'd than rejected by *Abu Obeidah*. There pass'd several Messages between them. The *Saracens* endeavouring to bring their Countryman *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*, with his Chri-

Omar. Alwákidi.

Christian Arabs, to a Neutrality, were answer'd, that they were oblig'd to serve the Emperor, and resolv'd to fight. Upon this, *Caled*, contrary to the Advice of all, prepar'd to give him Battle first, before *Mahân* should come up, with a very inconsiderable Number of Men, pick'd out of the whole Army; urging, that the Christians being the Army of the Devil, had no Advantage by their Numbers against the *Saracens*, the Army of God. It was observ'd, that *Caled* in choosing his Men, call'd out more * *Ansers* than † *Mohagerins*, which occasion'd some grumbling among them, being in doubt whether it was because he respected them most, or because he had a Mind to expose them to the greatest Danger, that he might favour the others: A very impertinent Scruple, in my Opinion, since he was to go with them himself. *Caled* told them, that he had chosen them without any such Regard, only because they were Persons he could depend upon, whose Valour he had prov'd, and who had the Faith rooted in their Hearts. One *Cathib* happening to be call'd after his Brother *Sahal*, looking upon himself to be the better Man, resented it as

* *Those of* Medinah *are called by that Name, because they help'd* Mahomet *in his Flight from* Meccah.

† *Those that fled with him are called* Mohagerins; *and by these Names the Inhabitants of* Meccah *and* Medinah *are often distinguish'd, as has been observ'd in the beginning of this Book.*

as an high Affront, and abus'd *Caled*, who gave him very gentle modeſt Anſwers, to the great Satisfaction of all, eſpecially *Abu Obeidah*, who, after a ſhort Contention, made them ſhake Hands. *Caled* indeed was admirable for this, that he knew no leſs how to govern his Paſſions, than command an Army; the latter of which proves to moſt great Generals the eaſier Task of the two. His Succeſs in this very hazardous Undertaking was beyond all Expectation, for he put *Jabalah*'s *Arabs* into Diſorder, and kill'd a great many, loſing very few of his own upon the Spot, and five Priſoners, three of which were *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*, and *Derar Ebno'l Azwàr*; all Men of great Note, and frequently mention'd before. *Abu Obeidah* ſent *Abdo'llah Ebn Kort* with an Expreſs to *Omar*, acquainting him with their whole Circumſtances, begging his Prayers, and ſome freſh Recruits of * *UNITARIANS*, a Title they glory in, reckoning themſelves the only Aſſerters of the Unity of the Deity. *Omar* and the whole Court were extremely ſurpriz'd, but comforted themſelves with the Promiſes made to them in the *Alcoran*, which

Omar. Alwákidi.

* *Arab.* Mowahhidina.

Omar. Alwâkidi.

which ſeem'd now to be all they had left to turſt to. To encourage the People, he went into the Pulpit, and ſhew'd them the Excellency of fighting for the Cauſe of God, and return'd an Anſwer to *Abu Obeidah*, full of ſuch ſpiritual Conſolation as the *Alcoran* could afford. *Omar* commanded *Abdo'llah*, that aſſoon as e'er he came near the Camp, before he deliver'd the Letter, he ſhould cry out, *Good News*, to comfort the Muſlemans, and eaſe them in ſome meaſure of thoſe perplexing Apprehenſions they labour'd under. He having received his Letter and Meſſage, together with *Omar*'s Bleſſing, ſet forwards on his Journey towards the Army; but recollecting himſelf, he remember'd that he had forgot to pay his Reſpects at *Mahomet*'s Tomb, which whether or no he ſhould ever ſee again, was very uncertain: Upon which he haſtens to *Ayeſha*'s Houſe, (the Place where *Mahomet* was buried) and finds her ſitting by the Tomb, with *Ali* and *Abbâs*, and *Haſan* and *Hoſein*, (*Ali's* Sons) one upon *Ali*'s Lap, the other upon *Abbâs*'s. *Ali* was reading the Chapter of *Beaſts*, being the ſixth of the *Alcoran*; and *Abbâs* the Chapter of *Hud*, which is the eleventh.

venth. *Abdo'llah* having paid his Respects to *Mahomet*, *Ali* ask'd him, whether he did not think of going! He answer'd, Yes; but he fear'd he should not get to the Army before the Battle, which he willingly would do, if possible. *If you desired a speedy Journey*, (answered *Ali*) *why did not you ask* Omar *to pray for you? Don't you know, that the Prayers of* Omar *will not be turn'd back*; *Because the Apostle of God said of him*, " If there were a Prophet to " be expected after me, it would be *O-* " *mar*, whose Judgment agrees with " the Book of God. *The Prophet said of him besides*, " If any [universal] Ca- " lamity were to descend from Hea- " ven upon Mankind, *Omar* would e- " scape from it. *Wherefore if* Omar *pray'd for thee, thou shalt not stay long for an Answer from God. Abdo'llah* told him, *That he had not spoken one Word in Praise of* Omar, *but what he was very sensible of before, only he desir'd to have his Prayers and those of the rest of the Muslemans added too, especially being at the Tomb of the Prophet.* All that were present lifting up their Hands to Heaven, *Ali* said, *O God! I beseech thee, for the sake of this chosen Apostle (in whose Name*

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar Alwákidi.

dam *pray'd and thou answeredst his Petition, and forgavest his Sins*) *that thou wouldst grant to* Abdo'llah Ebn Kort *a safe and speedy Return, and assist the Followers of thy Prophet with thy Help, O thou who alone art great and munificent*! Immediately he set forth, and return'd to the Camp with such incredible speed, that the *Saracens* there were surpriz'd. But their Admiration ceas'd, when he inform'd then of *Omar*'s Blessing, and *Ali*'s Prayers at *Mahomet*'s Tomb.

Recruits were instantly rais'd to send out of *Arabia* to the Army. *Saïd Ebn Amir* commanded them, having receiv'd a Flag of red Silk at the Hands of *Omar*, who told him that he gave him that Commission in hopes of his behaving himself well in it; advising him, among other things, not to follow his Appetites; not forgetting to put him in hopes of further Encouragement, if he should deserve it. *Saïd* thank'd him for his Advice; adding, that if he follow'd it, he should be sav'd. *And now* (says *Saïd*) *as you have advised me, so let me advise you. Speak on*, says *Omar. I bid you then*, (added the other) *fear God more than Men, and not the contrary; and love all the Muse-*

Muſlemans as your ſelf and your Family, as well thoſe at a Diſtance, as thoſe near to you. And command that which is Praiſe-worthy, and forbid that which is otherwiſe. Omar, all the while he ſpoke, ſtood looking ſtedfaſtly upon the Ground, leaning his Forehead upon his Staff. Then he lift up his Head, and the Tears ran down his Cheeks, and he ſaid, *Who is able to do this without the Divine Aſſiſtance. Ali* bad *Saïd* make good uſe of the *Caliph*'s Advice, and diſmiſs'd him. *Saïd* marching towards the Army, loſt his Way, unfortunaetly for the Chriſtians; for by that means he happen'd upon the Prefect of *Amman* with five thouſand Men. *Saïd* cut all the Foot to Pieces; the Prefect flying with the Horſe, was intercepted by a Party ſent out from the Saracen Camp to forage. *Saïd* at firſt thought they had fallen together by the Ears among themſelves, but when he came up, and heard the *Tecbín*, he was well ſatisfy'd. *Zobeir* thruſt the Perfect through with a Lance; of the reſt never a Man eſcap'd. The *Saracens* cut off all their Heads, then flay'd them, and ſo carried 'em upon the Points of their Lances, preſenting a moſt horri-

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

ble Spectacle to all that part of the Country, till they came to the Army, which receiv'd new Courage, by the Acceſſion of this Recruit ſent from the *Caliph*, conſiſting of eight thouſand Men.

However their Satisfaction was very much allay'd by the Loſs of thoſe five Priſoners, which *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham* had taken. It fortun'd that *Mahân* deſir'd *Abu Obeidah* to ſend ſome body to him to diſcourſe with; which being granted, *Caled* proffer'd his Service, and by *Abu Obeidah*'s Advice took along with him an hundred choſen Men, of the beſt Soldiers in the Army. Being met by the Out-Guards, the Chief of which was *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*, and Examin'd, they were order'd to ſtay there till the General's Pleaſure ſhould be known. *Mahân* would have had *Caled* come to him alone, and leave his Men behind him: Which he refuſing, they were commanded, when they came near, to alight from their Horſes, and deliver their Swords; to which when they would not ſubmit, they were at laſt permitted to enter as they pleas'd. They found *Mahân* ſitting upon a Throne, and there were

were Seats prepar'd for them. But they refus'd to sit on them, and removing them, sat down upon the Ground. *Mahân* ask'd them the Reason of their doing so, and tax'd them with want of Breeding. To which *Caled* answer'd, *That that was the best Breeding which was from God, and what God has prepared for us to sit down upon, is purer than your Tapestries*; defending their Practice from a Sentence of their Prophet *Mahomet*, back'd with this Text of the *Alcoran*, * *Out of it*, (meaning the Earth) *we have created you, and to it we shall return you, and out of it we shall bring you another time.* *Mahân* began then to expostulate with *Caled*, concerning their coming into *Syria*, and all those Hostilities which they had committed there; but the Account is too tedious to be inserted, especially since I have before given an Account of some Conferences much of the same Nature. Only this may be observed, that *Mahân* seem'd satisfy'd with *Caled*'s way of talking, and said, that he had before that time entertain'd a quite different Opinion of the *Arabs*, having been inform'd that they were a foolish ignorant People. *Caled* confess'd, that

Omar. Alwákidi.

* Alcoran, *Chap.* XX. 57.

Omar. Alwakidi.

that was the Condition of most of them, till God sent their Prophet *Mahomet* to lead 'em into the right Way, and teach them to distinguish Good from Evil, and Truth from Error. Sometimes they argu'd very coolly, and then again flew into a violent Passion, till at last *Caled* told *Mahân*, that he should one Day see him led with a Rope about his Neck to *Omar*, to be beheaded. *Mahân* told him, that the receiv'd Law of all Nations secur'd Ambassadors from Violence, which he suppos'd had encourag'd him to take that indecent Freedom; however, he was resolv'd to chastize his Insolence in the Persons of his Friends the five Prisoners, who should instantly be beheaded. *Caled* bad him attend, and swore by God, by *Mahomet*, and the holy Temple of *Meccah*, that if he kill'd 'em, he should die by his Hands, and every *Saracen* present should kill his Man, let the Consequences be what they would; and immediately rose from his Place, and drew his Sword. The like did all the rest of the *Saracens*. But when *Mahân* told him, that he would not meddle with him for the aforesaid Reason, they sheath'd their Swords, and talk'd

talk'd calmly again; after which *Mahân* made *Caled* a Present of the Prisoners, and desir'd him to give him his Scarlet Tent, which *Caled* had brought with him, and pitch'd hard by. *Caled* freely gave it him, and refus'd to take any thing, (tho' *Mahân* gave him his Choice of whatever he lik'd best) thinking his Kindness abundantly recompens'd in the restoring the Prisoners.

Omar. Alwâkidi.

Both sides now prepar'd for that Fight which was to determine the Fate of *Syria*. The Particulars are too tedious to be related, for they continu'd Fighting several Days. *Abu Obeidah* resign'd the whole Command of the Army to *Caled*, standing himself in the Rear, under the yellow Flag which *Abubeker* had given him at his first setting forth into *Syria*; being the same which *Mahomet* himself had fought under at the Battle of *Chaibar*. That was judg'd by *Caled* the propereſt Place for him, not only because he was no extraordinary Soldier, but that the Reverence of him might prevent the Flight of the *Saracens*, who were now like to be as hard put to it, as at any time since they first bore Arms. For

Omar. Alwákidi.

the ſame Reaſon the Women were placed in the Rear. The *Greeks* charg'd ſo courageouſly, and with ſuch vaſt Numbers, that the Right Wing of the *Saracen* Horſe was quite born down, and broken off from the main Body of the Army. But no ſooner did they turn their Backs, but they were ſo warmly receiv'd by the Women, who us'd them ſo ill, and loaded 'em with ſuch Plenty of Reproaches, that they were glad to return every Man to his Poſt, and choſe rather to face the Enemy, than endure the Storm. However they had much ado to bear up, and were preſs'd ſo hard by the *Greeks*, that they were ſometimes oblig'd to forget what their Generals had ſaid a little before the Fight, who told 'em, *That Paradiſe was before them, and the Devil and Hell-fire behind them. Abu Sophyan*, who had us'd that very Expreſſion himſelf, was forc'd to retreat, and receiv'd from one of the Women an hearty Blow over the Face with a Tent-pole for his Pains. Night at laſt parted 'em, about ſuch time as the Victory began to encline to the *Saracens*, who had been thrice beaten back, and as often reſtor'd by the Wo-

Omar. Alwákidi.

Women. Then *Abu Obeidah* ſaid at once thoſe Prayers which belong'd to two ſeveral Hours; I ſuppoſe becauſe his Men ſhould have the more time to reſt, which he was very tender of; walking about the Camp, looking after the wounded Men, and oftentimes binding up their Wounds with his own Hands; telling them, *That their Enemies ſuffer'd the ſame Pain which they did, but had not that Reward to expect from God which they had.*

Among other ſingle Combats, of which there were ſeveral fought between the two Armies; it chanc'd that *Serjabil Ebn Shahhnah* was engaged with an Officer of the Chriſtians, who was much too ſtrong for him. The Reaſon our Author aſſigns, is, becauſe *Serjabil* was wholly given up to Watching and Faſting. *Derar* thought he ought not to ſtand ſtill and ſee the Prophet's Secretary kill'd; and took his Dagger, whilſt the Combatants were over Head and Ears in Duſt, and coming behind the Chriſtian, ſtabb'd him to the Heart. The *Saracens* gave *Derar* Thanks for his Service; but he ſaid that he would receive no Thanks but from God. Upon this there aroſe

Omar. Alwákidi.

a Difference between *Serjabil* and *Derar* concerning the Spoil of this Officer. *Derar* claim'd it, as being the Person that killed him. *Serjabil*, as having engag'd him, and tir'd him out first. The Matter being referr'd to *Abu Obeidah*, he propos'd the Case to the *Caliph*, concealing the Names of the Persons concern'd; who sent him Word, that the Spoil of any Enemy was due to him that kill'd him: Upon which *Abu Obeidah* took it from *Serjabil*, and adjudged it to *Derar*.

Another Day, the Christian Archers did such Execution, that besides those *Saracens* which were killed, and wounded in other Parts, there were seven Hundred which lost each of them one or both their Eyes; upon which Account, the Day in which that Battle was fought is called *Yaumo'ttéwîr*, *The Day of Blinding*: And if any of those that lost their Eyes that Day, were afterwards ask'd by what Mischance he was blinded? He answer'd, that it was not a *Mischance*, but a Token of Favour from God; for they gloried as much in those Wounds they receiv'd in the Defence of their Superstition, as our Enthusiasts do in what they call Per-

Omar. Alwákidi.

Persecution, and with much the same Reason. *Abdo'llah Ebn Kort*, who was present in all the Wars in *Syria*, says, that he never saw so hard a Battle as that which was fought on that Day at *Yermouk*; and tho' the Generals fought most desperately, yet after all they had been beaten, if the Battle had not again been restored by the Women. *Caulah*, *Derar*'s Sister, was wounded and fell down. *Opheirah* revenged her Quarrel, and struck off the Man's Head that did it; and asking her how she did, she answer'd, *Very well with God, but a dying Woman.* However, she prov'd to be mistaken, for in the Evening she was walking about as if she had ail'd nothing, and looking after the wounded Men.

The *Greeks* in the Night had another Calamity added to their Misfortune of losing the Victory, drawn upon them by their own inhuman Barbarity. There was at *Yermouk* a Gentleman of a very plentiful Fortune, who had remov'd from *Hems* thither for the Sweetness of the Air. When *Mahân*'s Army came thither, this Gentleman us'd to entertain the Officers, and treat them nobly. To requite him for

Omar. Alwákidi.

for his Courteſy, whilſt they were revelling at his Houſe, they bad him bring out his Wife to them; which he refuſing, they took her by Force, and abus'd her all Night; and, to add to his Affliction, they took a little Son of his, and cut his Head off. The poor Lady took her Child's Head, and carry'd it to *Mahân*; and having given him an Account of the Outrages committed by his Officers, demanded Satisfaction. He took but little Notice of it, and put her off with a ſlight Anſwer. Upon which her Husband, reſolved to take the firſt Opportunity of being reveng'd, went privately over to the *Saracens*, and acquainted them with his Deſign. Returning back to the *Greeks*, he told them, it was now in his Power to do them ſingular Service: He takes a great Number of them, and brings them to a great Water, very deep, and fordable only at one Place. Five Hundred *Saracen* Horſe, inſtructed by him, come over where the Water was ſhallow, and attack the *Greeks*, but in a very little time return orderly the ſame way they came. The injur'd Gentleman calls out, and encourages the

he *Greeks* to purſue, * who plunging into the Water confuſedly, and not at all acquainted with the Place, periſh'd in great Numbers. In thoſe Battles fought afterwards at *Yermouk*, (which were all in *November*, 636.) the Chriſtians had the worſt, till at laſt *Mahân*'s vaſt Army being broken, and ſhatter'd to pieces, he was forc'd to fly, and leave the *Saracens* Maſters of the Field, now quite deliver'd from thoſe terrible Apprehenſions, which the News of this great Preparation had fill'd them with at firſt.

Omar. Alwâkidi.

* Καὶ ἑαυτὰς βάλλοντες εἰς τὰς ϛενόδȣς τȣ̃ Ιερμόχθȣ ϖοταμȣ̃ ἐκεῖ ἀπώλοντο ἄϑροȣς. Theoph. *p.* 280.

A ſhort time after *Abu Obeidah* wrote to the *Caliph* the following Letter.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God, &c.

This is to acquaint thee, that I encamp'd at Yermouk, *and* Mahân *was near us, with ſuch an Army as the Muſlemans never beheld a greater; but God overthrew this Multitude, and gave us the Victory over them, out of his abundant Grace and Goodneſs. We kill'd of them about an Hundred and Fifty Thouſand, and took Forty Thouſand Priſoners. Of the Muſlemans were killed Four Thouſand and Thirty, to whom God has decreed*

the

Omar. Alwâkidi.

the Honour of Martyrdom. I found some Heads cut off, not knowing whether they belong'd to the Muslemans or Christians, and I prayed over them and buried them. Mahân *was afterwards kill'd at* Damascus *by* Nomân Ebn Alkamah. *There was one* Abu Joaîd, *that belong'd to them before the Battle, that came from* Hems, *he drowned of them a great Number, unknown to any but God. As for those that fled into the Desarts and Mountains, we have destroy'd them all, and stopp'd all the Roads and Passages, and God has made us Masters of their Country, and Wealth, and Children. Written after the Victory from* Damascus, *where I stay expecting thy Orders concerning the Division of the Spoil. Fare thee well, and the Mercy and Blessing of God be upon thee, and all the Muslemans.*

Omar, in a short Letter, express'd his Satisfaction, and gave the *Saracens* Thanks for their Perseverance and Diligence; commanding *Abu Obeidah* to continue where he was till further Orders, but mention'd nothing concerning the Spoil: Upon which *Abu Obeidah* looking upon it as left to his own Discretion, divided it, without staying for further Orders. To an Horseman he gave

gave thrice as much as to a Footman, and made a difference besides between those Horses which were of the right *Arabian* Breed, (which they look'd upon to be far the best) and those that were not, allowing twice as much to the former as to the latter; with which Division they not being satisfied, *Abu Obeidah* told them, that the Prophet did the same after the Battle of *Chaibar*; which, upon Appeal made to *Omar*, was by him confirm'd. *Zobeir* had at the Battle of *Yermouk* two Horses, which he us'd to ride by turns: He receiv'd five Lots, three for himself, and two for his Horses. If any Slaves had run away from their Masters before the Battle, and were afterwards retaken, they were restor'd to their proper Masters, who nevertheless receiv'd an equal Share of the Spoil with the rest.

Omar. Alwakidi.

The Saracens having rested a Month at *Damascus*, and refresh'd themselves, *Abu Obeidah* sent to *Omar*, to know whether he should go to *Cæsarea* or *Jerusalem*. *Ali* being present when *Omar* was deliberating, said, to *Jerusalem* first; adding, that he had heard the Prophet say as much. This City they had a great Longing after, as being the

Omar. Alwákidi.

the Seat and Burying place of a great many of the ancient Prophets, in whom they reckon'd none to be so much interested as themselves. *Abu Obeidah* having receiv'd Orders to besiege it, sent *Yezid Ebn Abi Sofyan* thither first, with 5000 Men; and for five Days together sent after him considerable Numbers of Men, under such Officers as he thought fit to appoint. The *Ierefolymites* express'd no Signs of Fear, nor would they vouchsafe so much as to send out a Messenger to parley, but made Preparation for a vigorous Defence, and Planted their Engines upon the Walls. *Yezid* at last went near the Walls, with an Interpreter, to know their Minds, and propose the usual Terms; which being rejected, the Saracens would willingly have assaulted the Besieged, had not *Yezid* told them, that the General had not commanded them to make any Assault, but only to sit down before the City; and thereupon sent to *Abu Obeidah*, who forthwith gave them Order to fight. The next Morning the Generals said the Morning Prayer, each at the Head of his Men; and, as it were with one Consent, it seems every one of them quoted

quoted this Verſicle out of the *Alcoran*, as being very appoſite and pertinent to their preſent Purpoſe, * *O People! enter ye into the holy Land which God hath decreed for you*; being the twenty fourth Verſe of the fifth Chapter of the *Alcoran*, where the Impoſtor introduces *Moſes* ſpeaking to the Children of *Iſrael*: Which Words the Saracens dexterouſly interpreted to belong no leſs to themſelves than to their Predeceſſors the *Iſraelites*. Nor have theſe Parts of the World been altogether deſtitute of ſuch able Expoſitors, who, whatever they find in Scripture graciouſly expreſſed in Favour of the People of God, apply to themſelves, without Limitation or Exception: Whatever is ſaid of the Wicked and Ungodly, and all the Terrors and Judgments denounc'd, with a liberal Hand they beſtow upon their Neighbours. After their Prayers were over, they began their Aſſault. The *Ireſolymites* never flinch'd, but ſent them Showers of Arrows from the Walls, and maintain'd the Fight with undaunted Courage, till the Evening. Thus they continu'd fighting ten Days, and on the eleventh, *Abu Obeidah* came up with the Remainder of the Army; he

Omar. Alwákidi.

* Alcoran, Chap. V. 24.

Omar. Alwákidi.

he had not been there long, before he sent the Besieged the following Letter, which I have copied, not out of *Alwákidi*, but † the Author of the *History of the Holy Land.*

† MSS. Arab. Pocock, *Num.* 362.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerahh *to the chief Commanders of the People of* Ælia, *and the Inhabitants thereof,* ‖ Health and Happiness to every one that follows the right way, *and believes in God and the Apostle. We require of you to testify, that there is but one God, and* Mahomet *is his Apostle, and that there shall be a Day of Judgment, and God shall raise the Dead out of their Sepulchres; and when you have born Witness to this, it is unlawful for us either to shed your Blood, or meddle with your Substance or Children. If you refuse this, consent to pay Tribute, and be under us forthwith; otherwise I shall bring Men against you, who love Death better than you do the drinking of Wine, or eating Hogs Flesh: Nor will I ever stir from you, if it please God, till I have destroyed those that fight for you, and made Slaves of your Children.*

‖ Alcoran, *Chap.* XX. 49. *They use it almost always when they write to Christians; and so the King of* Fez *writes to our Princes of* Great-Britain.

The

Omar. Alwákidi

The eating * Swines Flesh, and † drinking Wine, are both forbidden in the *Alcoran*, which occasion'd that Reflection of *Abu Obeidah* upon the Practice of the Christians. The former Prohibition is borrow'd from the Jewish Law; and as for the latter, the Reader may see more in the ‖ Life of *Mahomet*. The Besieged, never a whit daunted, held out four Months entire; in all which space, there did not one Day pass without fighting; and it being Winter time, the Saracens suffered a great deal of Hardship through the Extremity of the Weather. At last, when the Besieged had well consider'd the Obstinacy of the Saracens; who they had good Reason to believe, would never raise the Siege till they had taken the City, whatever time it took up, or cost them Pains; *Sophronius* the Patriarch went to the Wall, and by an Interpreter discours'd with *Abu Obeidah*, telling him, that *Jerusalem* was the *Holy City*, and whoever came into the *Holy Land* with any hostile Intent, would render himself obnoxious to the Divine Displeasure. To which *Abu Obeidah* answer'd, *We know that it is a noble City, and that our Pro-*

* Alcoran, *Chap.* II. 168.
† Alcoran, *Chap.* V. 92. 93.
‖ *Dr.* Prideaux's *Life of* Mahomet, *p.* 106.

Omar. Alwákidi.

phet Mahomet *went from it in* * *one Night to Heaven, and approached within two Bows Shot of his Lord, or nearer; and that it is the Mine of the Prophets, and their Sepulchres are in it, and we are more worthy to have it in Possession than you are; neither will we leave besieging it, till God delivers it up to us, as he has done other Places before it.* I shall not here transcribe the Story of *Mahomet*'s Journey to Heaven; the Reader may find a sufficient Account of it in the Learned Dr. *Prideaux*'s † *Life of* Mahomet. At last the Patriarch consented that the City should be surrender'd upon Condition that the Inhabitants should receive the Articles of their Security and Protection from the *Caliph*'s own Hands, and not by Proxy. And their insisting upon this, I take to have been the principal Motive of *Omar*'s Coming, rather than believe a blind Story fabled by some *Arab.* Authors, of an old Prophecy kept in *Jerusalem* concerning *Omar*; in which his Name and Religion were specified, and his Person describ'd, and that he was the only Man that could take *Jerusalem*: Which, however strange it may seem, is nevertheless not so absurd and ridiculous

* Alcoran, *Chap.* XVII. 1. & LIII. 10.

† *P.* 53.

culous as what they tell of *Sophronius*'s giving an Account of all this to *Abu Obeidah*, who thereupon ſent for *Omar*. I rather ſhould believe, that this idle Story of the Prophecy may be better explain'd by *Theophanes*, who tells us, that when the City was taken, the Patriarch ſaid, * *This is of a Truth the Abomination of Deſolation ſpoken of by* Daniel *the Prophet ſtanding in the Holy Place.* The Saracens hearing afterwards, that the Patriarch had confeſs'd them to have been propheſied of, made the foregoing Story out of it. || *Jelalo'ddin Aſſoyúti*, a celebrated *Arabick* Author, who, among other Works, has written an Hiſtory of *Jeruſalem*, confeſſes, that there is great Variety and Difference in the Accounts of the taking it: However, all agree in this, that *Omar* was there. The ſame *Jelalo'ddin* agrees with *Alwákidi*, where he tells us, that upon *Abu Obeidah*'s writing to *Omar* to come, he advis'd with his Friends. *Othman*, who afterwards ſucceeded him in the Government, diſſwaded him from going, that the *Ireſolymites* might ſee themſelves deſpis'd, and thought beneath his Notice; but *Ali* was of a quite different Opinion, urging that

Omar. Alwákidi.

* Τοῦτον ἰδὼν ξωφρόνιος ἔφη τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου, ἑστὼς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ. Πολλοῖς τε δάκρυσι τὸ χειριανὸν φύλον ἀπεδύρετο τῆς εὐσεβείας ὁ πέμαχος. Theoph p. 184. Edit. Par.

|| MSS. *Arab.* Huntington *Num.* 510,

Omar. Alwákidi.

the Muſlemans had endur'd great Hardſhip in ſo long a Siege, and ſuffer'd much from the Extremity of the Cold; that the Preſence of the *Caliph* would be a great Refreſhment and Encouragement to them; adding, that the great Reſpect which the Chriſtians had for *Jeruſalem*, as being the Place to which they went on Pilgrimage, ought to be conſider'd; that it ought not to be ſuppos'd that they would eaſily part with it, but ſoon be reinforc'd with freſh Supplies. This Advice of *Ali* being preferr'd to *Othman*'s, the *Caliph* reſolv'd upon his Journey; which according to his frugal Management, requir'd no great Expence or Equipage. When he had ſaid his Prayers in the *Moſque*, and paid his Reſpects at *Mahomet*'s Tomb, he ſubſtituted *Ali* in his Place, and ſet forwards with ſome Attendance; the greateſt part of which, having kept him Company a little way, return'd back to *Medinah*. He rode upon a red Camel, with a Couple of Sacks; in one of which he carried that ſort of Proviſion, which the *Arabs* call *Sawík*, which is either Barley, Rice, or Wheat, ſodden and unhusk'd; the other was full of Fruits. Before him he

Omar. Alwákidi.

he carried a very great Leather Bottle, (very neceſſary in thoſe deſart Countries to put Water in) behind him a large wooden Platter. Thus furniſh'd and equipp'd, the *Caliph* travell'd, and when he came to any Place where he was to reſt all Night, he never went from it till he had ſaid the Morning Prayer. After which, turning himſelf about to thoſe that were with him, he ſaid, *Praiſe be to God, who has ſtrengthned us with the true Religion, and given us his Prophet, and led us out of Error, and united us (who were at Variance) in the Confeſſion of the Truth, and given us the Victory over our Enemy, and the Poſſeſſion of his Country. O ye Servants of God! Praiſe him for theſe Abundant Favours; for God gives Increaſe to thoſe that ask for it, and are deſirous of thoſe things which are with him; and fulfils his Grace upon thoſe that are thankful.* Then filling his Platter with the *Sawík*, he very liberally entertain'd his Fellow-Travellers, who did, without Diſtinction, eat with him all out of the ſame Diſh.

Whilſt he was upon his Journey, there came, at one of his Stages, a Complaint before him of a Man

Omar. Alwákidi.

that had marry'd two Wives, that were Sisters both by Father and Mother; a thing which the old *Arabians*, so long as they continu'd in their Idolatry, made no scruple of, as appears from that Passage in the *Alcoran*, where it is forbidden for the time to come, and express'd after such a manner, as makes it evident to have been no uncommon Practice among 'em. *Omar* was very angry, and cited him and his two Wives to make their Appearance before him forthwith. After the Fellow had confess'd that they were both his Wives, and so nearly related, *Omar* ask'd him what Religion he might be of, or whether he was a *Musleman*? *Yes*, said the Fellow. *And did you not know then*, said *Omar*, *that it was unlawful for you to have them, when God has said*, * "Neither marry two Sisters "any more. The Fellow swore, that he did not know that it was unlawful, neither was it unlawful. *Omar* swore, he lyed, and that he would make him part with one of 'em, or else strike his Head off. The Fellow began to grumble, and said, *That he wish'd he had never been of that Religion, for he could have done as well without it, and had never been*

* Alcoran, *Chap.* IV. 27.

Omar. Alwâkidi.

been a whit the better for it ſince he had firſt profeſs'd it. Upon which *Omar* call'd him a little nearer, and gave him two Blows upon the Crown with his Stick, to teach him better Manners, and learn him to ſpeak more reverently of *Mahometaniſm*; ſaying, *O thou Enemy of God, and of thy ſelf, doſt thou revile* *Iſlâm; *which is the Religion that God and his Angels, and Apoſtles, and the beſt of the Creation have choſen?* And threaten'd him ſeverely, if he did not make a quick Diſpatch, and take which of 'em he lov'd beſt. The Fellow was ſo fond of 'em both, that he could not tell which he'd rather part with: Upon which ſome of *Omar*'s Attendants caſt Lots for the two Women. The Lot falling upon one of 'em three times, the Man took her, and was forc'd to diſmiſs the other. *Omar* call'd him to him, and ſaid *Pray mind what I ſay to you; if any Man makes Profeſſion of our Religion, and then leaves it, we kill him; therefore ſee you do not renounce* Iſlâm. *And take heed to your ſelf, for if ever I hear that you lie with your Wife's Siſter, which you have put away, you ſhall be ſtoned.*

* *That is the Word by which they expreſs what we call the Mahometan Religion; and it ſignifies,* delivering a Man's ſelf up to God.

Paſ-

Omar. Alwákidi.

Passing on a little further, he happen'd to see some poor Tributaries, whom their hard Masters, the *Saracens*, were punishing for Non-payment, by setting them in the Sun; which in that Torrid Zone is very grievous. When *Omar* understood the Cause of it, he ask'd the poor People what they had to say for themselves? Who answer'd, that they were not able. Upon which he said, *Let them alone, and don't compel them to more then they are able to bear; for I heard the Apostle of God say, DO NOT afflict Men, for those who afflict Men in this World, God shall punish them in Hell-Fire at the Day of Judgment.* And immediately commanded them to be let go.

Before he got to his Journey's End he was inform'd of an old Man that suffer'd a young one to go Partner with him in his Wife; so that one of 'em was to have her four and twenty Hours, and then the other, and so successively. *Omar* having sent for them, and upon Examination found them to be Muslemans, wonder'd at it, and asked the old Man, if he did not know that it was forbidden by the Law of God? They both swore, that they knew no such

Omar. Alwakidi.

ſuch thing. *Omar* ask'd the old Man, what made him conſent to ſuch a beaſtly thing? Who anſwer'd, that he was in Years, and his Strength fail'd him, and he had never a Son to look after his Buſineſs, and this young Man was very ſerviceble to him in watering and feeding his Camels, and he had recompens'd him that way; but ſince it was unlawful, he promis'd that it ſhould be ſo no more. *Omar* bad him take his Wife by the Hand, and told him, *That nobody had any thing to do with her but himſelf: And for your part, young Man* (ſays he) *if ever I hear that you come near her again, off goes your Head.*

Omar, having all the Way he went, ſet Things aright that were amiſs, and diſtributed Juſtice impartially, for which he was ſingularly eminent among the *Saracens*, came at laſt into the Confines of *Syria*, and when he drew near *Jeruſalem* he was met by *Abu Obeidah*, and conducted to the *Saracen* Camp with abundance of Joy. He did not reach thither the ſame Day *Abu Obeidah* met him. In the Morning he ſaid the uſual Prayers, and if we may take my Author's Word for it, preach'd a good Sermon. In which, as he quoted this

Omar. Alwákidi.

this Text out of the *Alcoran*; **He whom God shall direct is led the right Way; but thou shalt not find a Friend to direct him aright whom God shall lead into Error.* A Christian Priest that sat before him stood up, and said, *God leads no man into Error*; and repeated it. *Omar* said nothing to him, but bad those that stood by strike his Head off if he should say so again. The old Man understood what he said, and held his Peace whilst *Omar* proceeded in his Sermon.

* Alcoran, *Chap.* XVIII. 16.

Omar met with some of the *Saracens* richly dress'd in Silks that they had taken by way of Plunder after the Battle of *Yermouk*. He spoil'd all their Pride, for he caus'd them to be dragg'd along in the Dirt with their Faces downwards and their Cloaths to be rent all to Pieces. As soon as he came within sight of the City, he cry'd out, *Allàh Acbar*: *O God give us an easy Conquest.* Pitching his Tent, which was made of Hair, he sat down in it upon the Ground. The Christians hearing that *Omar* was come, from whose Hands they were to receive their Articles, were desirous of seeing him. Upon which the Muslemans would have perswaded him not to expose his Per-

Omar, Alwákidi.

Person, for fear of some treacherous Design. But *Omar* resolutely answer'd, in the Words of the *Alcoran*; * *SAY, There shall nothing befal us but what God hath decreed for us; he is our Lord, and in God let all the Believers put their Trust.* Afterwards, upon Parley, the Besieg'd resign'd, and because those Articles of Agreement made by *Omar* with the *Ieresolymites* are, as it were, the Pattern which the *Mahometan* Princes have chiefly imitated, I shall not think it improper to give the Sense of 'em in this Place, as I find it in the † Author of the History of *Jerusalem* (or the Holy Land) which I have mention'd before.

* Alcoran, Chap. IX. 51.

† M. S. Arab. Pocock. Num. 362.

The Articles were these; "*That the* "*Christians should build no new Church-* "*es, either in the City, or the adjacent* "*Territory: Neither should they refuse* "*the Muslemans Entrance into their* "*Churches, either by Night or Day.* "*That they should set open the Doors of* "*them to all Passengers and Travellers.* "*If any Musleman should be upon a Jour-* "*ney, they should be oblig'd to entertain* "*him* gratis *the space of three Days. That* "*they should not teach their Children* "*the* Alcoran, *nor talk openly of their* "*Religion, nor perswade any one to be of* "*it;*

Omar.

" *it; neither should they hinder any of*
" *their Relations from becoming Ma-*
" *hometans, if they had an Inclination*
" *to it. That they should pay Respect*
" *to the Muslemans, and rise up to them*
" *if they had a mind to sit down. That*
" *they should not go like the Muslemans*
" *in their Dress; nor wear such Caps,*
" *Shoes, nor Turbants, nor part their*
" *Hair as they do, nor speak after the*
" *same manner, nor be called by the same*
" * *Names us'd by the Muslemans. Nei-*
" *ther should they ride upon Saddles, nor*
" *bear any sort of Arms, nor use the*
" Arabick *Tongue in the Inscriptions of*
" *their Seals; nor sell any Wine. That*
" *they should be obliged to keep to the*
" *same sort of Habit wheresoever they*
" *went, and always wear Girdles upon*
" *their Wastes. That they should set no*
" *Crosses upon their Churches, nor show*
" *their Crosses nor their Books openly in*
" *the Streets of the Muslemans. That*
" *they should not ring, but only toll their*
" *Bells. Nor take any Servant that*
" *had once belong'd to the Muslemans.*
" *Neither should they overlook them in*
" *their Houses. Some say, that* Omar
" *commanded the Inhabitants of* Jerusa-
" lem *to have the fore Parts of their*
" *Heads*

* Arab. Kinâon, Cognomina.

" *Heads ſhaven, and obliged them to* Omar.
" *ride upon their Pannels ſideways, and*
" *not like the Muſlemans.*

Upon theſe Terms the Chriſtians had *Liberty of Conſcience*, paying ſuch Tribute as their Maſters thought fit to impoſe upon 'em; and *Jeruſalem*, once the Glory of the *Eaſt*, was forc'd to ſubmit to a heavier Yoke than ever it had born before. For though the Number of the Slain, and the Calamities of the Beſieged were greater when it was taken by the *Romans*; yet the Servitude of thoſe that ſurviv'd was nothing comparable to this, either in reſpect of the Circumſtances or Duration. For however it might ſeem to be utterly ruin'd and deſtroy'd by *Titus*, yet was it very much recover'd by *Adrian*'s Time. Now, it fell as it were, once for all, into the Hands of the moſt mortal Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, in which it has continu'd ever ſince; excepting only that Interval of near ninety Years, in which it was poſſeſs'd by the Chriſtians in the *Holy War*.

* The Chriſtians having ſubmitted to the Terms, *Omar* gave them the following Writing under his Hand. * Elmakin. Eutychius.

In

Omar.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

From Omar Ebno'l Alchitâb *to the Inhabitants of* Ælia. *They shall be protected and secured both in their Lives and Fortunes, and their Churches shall neither be pull'd down nor made use of by any but themselves.*

Year of the Hegjrah 16. A. D. 637.

Immediately upon this the Gates were open'd, and the *Caliph* and those that were with him went in. The Patriarch kept them Company, and the *Caliph* talk'd with him familiarly, and ask'd him Questions concerning the Antiquities of the Place. Among other Places which they visited, they went into the Temple of the *Resurrection*, and *Omar* sat down in the midst of it. When the time of Prayers was come (the *Mahometans* have five set Times of Prayer in a Day) *Omar* told the Patriarch, that he had a mind to pray, and desir'd him to shew him a Place where he might perform his Devotion. The Patriarch bad him pray where he was; but he altogether refus'd it. Then he brought him out from thence, and went with him into *Constantine*'s Church, and laid

laid a Matt for him; but he would not pray there. At last he went alone to the Steps which were at the East Gate of St. *Constantine*'s Church, and kneel'd by himself upon one of 'em. Having ended his Prayers, he sat down, and ask'd the Patriarch if he knew why he had refus'd to pray in the Church? The Patriarch confess'd that he could not tell what should be the Reason of it. *Why then* (says *Omar*) *I'll tell you. You know I promis'd you that none of your Churches should be taken away from you, but that you should possess them quietly your selves. Now if I had pray'd in any one of these Churches, I should no sooner have been gone from hence, but the Muslemans would infallibly have taken it away from you. And notwithstanding all you could have alledg'd, they would have said, this is the Place where* Omar *pray'd, and we will pray here too. And so you would have been turned out of your Church, contrary both to my Intention and your Expectation. But because my praying so much as upon the Steps may perhaps give some Occasion to the Muslemans to give you some Disturbance; I shall take what Care I can to prevent that.* So he call'd for Pen, Ink and Paper, and wrote expresly, *That*

Omar.

Omar.

none of the Muſlemans ſhould pray upon the Steps in any Multitudes, but one by one. That they ſhould never meet there to go to Prayers. And that the Muèzzin, *or Crier, that calls the People to Prayers* (for the Mahometans never uſe Bells) *ſhould not ſtand there.* This Paper he gave to the Patriarch for a Security, leſt his praying upon the Steps of the Church ſhould have ſet ſuch an Example to the Muſlemans as might occaſion any Inconvenience to the Chriſtians. A noble Inſtance of ſingular Fidelity and religious Obſervation of Promiſe. This *Caliph* did not think it enough to perform what he engag'd himſelf, but us'd all poſſible Diligence to oblige others to do ſo too. And when the unwary Patriarch had deſir'd him to pray in the Church, not well conſidering what might be the Conſequence; the *Caliph* well knowing how apt Men are to be ſuperſtitious in the Imitation of their Princes and great Men, eſpecially ſuch as they look upon to be Succeſſors of a Prophet, made the beſt Proviſion he could, that nothing which might be pretended to be done in Imitation of him, might any way infringe the Security he had already given.

There

Omar.

* There goes a Story, that the *Caliph* desir'd the Patriarch to assign him a Place where he might build a *Mosque* for the Celebration of the *Mahometan* Service; and that the Patriarch shew'd him the Place where *Jacob*'s Stone lay, which he slept upon when he saw the † Vision. It seems the Stone was quite cover'd with Dirt, and the *Caliph* took up as much as he could of it in his Vest, and remov'd it. The Muslemans perceiving what the *Caliph* did, very readily assisted him; some filling their Bucklers, some their Vests, others Baskets; that in a short time they had remov'd all the Rubbish and Dirt, and clear'd the Stone ||. *Omar* leaving the Churches to the Christians, built a new Temple in the Place where *Solomon*'s formerly stood, and consecrated it to the *Mahometan* Superstition. From thence he went to *Bethlehem*, and going into the Church pray'd there; and when he had done, he gave the Patriarch, under his Hand, the same Security for the Church, as he had done before at *Jerusalem*, strictly forbidding any of the *Mahometans* to pray there, unless one single Person at a time; and that no *Muèzzin* should e ver call the People to Prayers there.

* Emakin, Golius *his Notes upon* Alferganus, *p.* 137.

† Genesis 28.

|| Theoph. *p.* 281. *His Words are these,* Ἐισελθὼν ὁ Ὀυμαρ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν τειχίνοις ἐκ καμήλων ἐνδύμασιν ἠμφιεσμένος ἐρρυπωμένοις, ὑπόκειείν τε σατανικὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος, τὸν ναὸν ἐζήτησεν τῶν Ἰεδαίων ἰδεῖν, ὃν ὠκοδόμησε Σολομῶν, προσκυνητήριον αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τὸ αὐτῷ βλασφημίας.

Omar.

But notwithſtanding all the *Caliph*'s Precaution, the *Saracens* afterwards ſeiz'd the Church for their own Uſe; and ſo they did at St. *Conſtantine*'s Church at *Jeruſalem*; for they took half the Porch where thoſe Steps were which *Omar* had pray'd upon, and built a Moſque there, in which they included thoſe Steps: And had *Omar* ſaid his Prayers in the Body of the Church, they would without all queſtion having taken that too.

*Elmakin. Hegjrah 16. A. D. 637.

*This ſame Year in which *Jeruſalem* was taken, *Saëd Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, one of *Omar*'s Captains, was making Havock in the Territories of *Perſia*. He went to *Madayen*, formerly the Treaſury and Magazine of *Coſroes*, King of *Perſia*; where they found Money and rich Furniture of all ſorts, ineſtimable. *Elmakîn* ſays, that they took there no leſs than 3000000000 Ducats, beſides *Coſroës*'s Crown and Wardrobe, which was exceeding rich, his Cloaths being all adorned with Gold and Jewels of great Value. Then they open'd the Roof of *Coſroës* his Porch, where they found another very conſiderable Sum. They plunder'd his Armory, well ſtor'd with all ſorts of Weapons. Among other things they brought

brought to *Omar* a piece of Silk Hanging, ſixty Cubits ſquare, all curiouſly wrought with Needlework. That it was of great Value, appears from the Price which *Ali* had for that Part of it which fell to his Share when *Omar* divided it; which tho' it was none of the beſt of it, yielded him 20000 Pieces of Silver. After this, in the ſame Year, the *Perſians* were defeated by the *Saracens* in a great Battle near *Jaloúlah*. *Yazdejerd* perceiving Things grow every Day worſe and worſe, retir'd to *Ferganah*, a City of *Perſia*. Omar.

We muſt now proceed with the Conqueſt of *Syria*. *Omar* having taken *Jeruſalem*, continu'd there about ten Days, to put things in Order. Here my Author tells us a Story of one *Caab*, a *Jew*, who came to him to be proſelyted, and told him, that his Father, who was thoroughly skill'd in the Law of *Moſes*, had told him concerning *Mahomet*'s being the Seal of the Prophets, and that after him all Inſpiration was to ceaſe. Among other Things, *Caab* asked him what was ſaid concerning the *Mahometan* Religion in the *Alcoran*. *Omar* quoted ſuch Texts out of it as were ſuited to his Palate, as having been brought up a *Jew*; name- Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

ly, (a) Abraham *commanded his Sons concerning it*; *and so did* Jacob; saying, *O Children! God has made Choice of a Religion for you*; (b) *wherefore do not die before you be Musleman*s. Again, (c) Abraham *was neither a Jew nor Christian, but a religious Musleman, and was not of the Number of those who join Partners with God*. And then, (d) *He that shall desire any other Religion but* Islam, *it shall not be accepted of him*. Again, (e) *Will they desire any other than God's Religion, to whom every thing in Heaven and Earth* (f) *submits it self*? And then, (g) *The Religion of* Abraham *your Father: He gave you the Name of Muslemans*. The *Rabbi*, convinc'd with so many pregnant Texts, that the *Mahometan* Religion was no other than that of *Abraham* and the Patriarchs, repeated instantly, *La Ilaha*, &c. *There is but one God, and* Mahomet *is his Apostle*. *Omar* was very well pleas'd with his new Proselyte, and invited him to go along with him to *Medinah*, to visit the Prophet's Tomb; to which he consented. I have inserted this Story in the Place where I found it in my Author, because I would not willingly omit any thing that might any way contribute to the illu-

(a) Alcoran, Chap. II. 126.
(b) III. 96.
(c) III. 60.
(d) III. 78.
(e) III. 77.
(f) *Arab.* Aslama.
(g) XXII. 77.

illuſtrating the Manners or Religion of that People concerning whom I write: Notwithſtanding which, I have a ſtrong Suſpicion that this is the very ſame *Caab* who was proſelyted in *Mahomet*'s Time, above ten Years before *Omar* took *Jeruſalem*, and concerning whom the Reader may ſee a larger Account in the * *Life of* Mahomet. For our Authors are not always ſo very accurate; eſpecially thoſe who write the Hiſtories of the Beginnings of the *Saracenical* Empire.

Omar. Alwákidi.

* P. 99.

Now *Omar* thought of returning to *Medinah*, having firſt diſpos'd his Affairs after the following manner. *Syria* he divided into two Parts; and committed all that lies between *Haurân* and *Aleppo* to *Abu Obeidah*, with Orders to make War upon it till he conquer'd it. *Yezid Ebn Abi Sofyan* took the Charge of all *Paleſtine* and the *Sea-ſhore*. *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* was ſent to invade *Ægypt*, no inconſiderable Part of the Emperor's Dominions, which now moulder'd away continually. The *Saracens* at *Medinah* had almoſt given *Omar* over; and began to conclude that he would never ſtir from *Jeruſalem*, conſidering the Richneſs of the Country, and the

Omar. Alwâkidi.

Sweetneſs of the Air; but eſpecially it being the Country of the Prophets, and the Holy Land, and the Place where we muſt all be ſummoned together at the Reſurrection. At laſt he came, ſo much the more welcome, by how much he was the leſs expected. *Abu Obeidah* in the mean time received *Kinniſrîn* and *Alhadir*; the Inhabitants paying down 5000 Ounces of Gold, and as many of Silver, 2000 Suits of Cloaths of ſeveral Sorts of Silk, and 500 Aſſes Loads of Figgs and Olives. *Yezid* march'd againſt *Cæſarea* in vain, that Place being too well fortify'd to be taken by his little Army, eſpecially ſince it had been reinforc'd by the Emperor, who had ſent Store of all Sorts of Proviſion by Sea, and a Recruit of 2000 Men. The Inhabitans of *Aleppo* were much concern'd at the Loſs of *Kinniſrîn* and *Alhadir*, knowing very well that it would not be long before it would come to their turn, to experience themſelves what they had known till then only by Report. They had two Governours, Brothers, who dwelt in the Caſtle, (the ſtrongeſt in all *Syria*) which was not then encompaſs'd by the Town, but ſtood out at a little Diſtance

ſtance by it ſelf. The Name of one of theſe Brethren, if my Author miſtakes not, was *Youkinna*; the other *John*. Their Father held of the Emperor *Heraclius* all the Territory between *Aleppo* and *Euphrates*, after whoſe Deceaſe his Son *Youkinna* manag'd the Affairs; *John* not troubling himſelf with ſecular Employments, did not meddle with the Government, but led a Monkiſh Life; ſpending his Time in Retirement, Reading, and Deeds of Charity. He would have perſwaded his Brother to have ſecur'd himſelf, by compounding with the *Arabs* for a good round Sum of Money; who told him, that he talk'd like a Monk, and did not underſtand what belong'd to a Soldier. That he had Wealth and Warlike Preparation enough, and was reſolv'd to make the beſt Oppoſition he could. Accordingly the next Day he call'd his Men together, among which there were ſeveral Chriſtian *Arabs*, and having arm'd 'em, and for their Encouragement diſtributed ſome Money among 'em, told them, that he was fully purpoſed to act offenſively, and give the *Saracens* Battle, if poſſible, before they ſhould come too near *Aleppo*. That the *Saracen* Army

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Army was weaken'd by their Division, some of them being gone to *Cæsarea*, others to *Damascus*, and some into *Ægypt*. Thus encouraging his Men, he march'd forwards with 12000. *Abu Obeidah* had sent before him *Caab Ebn Damarah* with 1000 Men, but with express Orders not to fight till he had receiv'd Information of the Strength of the Enemy. *Youkinna*'s Spies found *Caab* and his Men resting themselves, and watering their Horses, secure, and free from Apprehensions of Danger: Upon which he lays an Ambuscade, and falls upon them with the rest of his Men. There was a sharp Engagement, in which the Saracens had the better of it at first; but the Ambuscade breaking in upon them, they were in great Danger, of being overpower'd with Multitude; 170 of them were kill'd upon the Spot, and most of the rest grievously wounded, that they were upon the very Brink of Despair, and cry'd out, *Ya Mahommed*! *Ya Mahommed*! *O Mahomet*! *O Mahomet*! However, with much ado they made Shift to hold up till Night parted them, earnestly expecting the Coming of *Abu Obeidah*.

In

Omar. Alwákidi.

In the mean time, whilst *Youkinna* was gone out with his Forces to engage the *Saracens*, the wealthy and trading People of *Aleppo*, knowing very well how hard it would go with them if they should stand it out obstinately to the last, and be taken by Storm, upon Debate, resolv'd to go and article with *Abu Obeidah*, that, let *Youkinna*'s Success be what it would, they might be secure. Thirty of the chief of them went to him, being then at *Kinnisrîn*, and just upon his March; and as soon as they came near, cry'd out, *Legôun*, *Legoun*. *Abu Obeidah* understood that it meant *Quarter*, and had formerly written to the Captains in *Syria*, that if any of them heard any Man use that Word, they should not be hasty to kill him, otherwise they must answer it at the Day of Judgment, and the *Caliph* would be clear. They were brought before *Abu Obeidah*, and perceiving that there were Fires in the Camp, and some were saying their Prayers, others reading the *Alcoran*, and all very easy and secure, one of them said, *They have most certainly gotten the Victory*. An Interpreter that stood by told *Abu Obeidah*, who till then knew nothing of the Battle.

Omar. Alwákidi.

tle. Upon Examination they told him, that they were Merchants, and the chief Traders of *Aleppo*, and were come to make Articles for themſelves; that *Youkínna* was a Tyrant; that he march'd out againſt the Saracens Yeſterday. *Abu Obeidah* hearing this, gave *Caab Ebn Damarah* over for loſt, which made him at firſt the more unwilling to article with the *Aleppians*; but upon their earneſt and repeated Intreaty, and being always naturally enclin'd to Compaſſion, and withal conſidering that theſe Perſons (for there were ſeveral belonging to the neighbouring Villages that had join'd themſelves with them) might be ſerviceable in helping the Army to Proviſion and Provender, he cry'd out, ‖*God loves thoſe that are enclin'd to do good*; and turning himſelf to the Saracens, he repreſented the Advantages which might accure to them, by receiving theſe People into their Protection: But one that was preſent told him, that the Town was very near the Caſtle, and he did not believe they were in earneſt, or ought to be truſted; for, ſays he, they come to impoſe upon us, and no queſtion but they have trapann'd *Caab*. To whom

‖ Alcoran, *Chap*, II. 190, III. 129. 141. V. 16.

Abu

Omar. Alwâkidi.

Abu Obeidah anſwer'd, *Entertain, Man, a better Opinion of God, who will not deceive us, nor give them the Dominion over us.* Then he propos'd to them the ſame Conditions which they of *Kinniſrîn* and *Hader* had agreed to; but they deſir'd to be excus'd, alledging, that through the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of *Youkínna*, their City of *Aleppo* was nothing near ſo well peopled, nor half ſo rich as *Kinniſrîn*; but if he pleas'd to accept of half ſo much, they would endeavour to raiſe it: Which was accepted, upon Condition, that they ſhould take Care to furniſh the Camp with all things neceſſary, and give all poſſible Intelligence that might be of any Uſe to the Muſlemans, and alſo hinder *Youkínna* from returning into the Caſtle. They undertook all but the laſt Article, which they ſaid was altogether out of their Power. Then he ſwore them every one, (ſuch an Oath as they had been us'd to) and bad them take care how they broke it, for if they did, there would be no Quarter. When they were going away, he proffer'd them Guards to ſee them ſafe home; but they told him, they would, if he pleas'd, ſave him that Trouble, ſince they could go home the

ſame

Omar. Alwakidi.

ſame way they came, without any fear of *Youkinna.*

As they were going back, they chanc'd to meet with one of *Youkinna*'s Officers, who enquiring what News? They gave him an Account of the whole Tranſaction. Upon this he goes with all poſſible ſpeed to his Maſter; who was with Impatience expecting the Morning, that he might diſpatch *Caab* and his Men, whom the coming of the Night had preſerv'd: But hearing this News, he began to fear leſt there ſhould be any Attempt made upon the Caſtle, and thought it ſafeſt to make the beſt of his way homeward. In the Morning the Saracens were ſurpriz'd to ſee no Enemy, and wonder'd what was the matter with them. *Caab* would have purſu'd them, but none of his Men had any Inclination to go with him; ſo they reſted themſelves, and in a little time *Caled* and *Abu Obeidah* came up with the reſt of the Army. Then they went about burying their Martyrs, as they call them, and put them into the Ground all bloody as they were, with their Cloaths, Arms, and all together. *Abu Obeidah* ſaid, that he had heard the Apoſtle of God ſay, that

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The Martyrs and those who are killed in the Service of God, shall be raised at the Day of Judgment with their Blood upon their Throats, which shall have the Colour of Blood, and the Smell of Musk, and they shall be led directly into Paradise, without being call'd to an Account.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Assoon as they were buried, *Abu Obeidah* reminded *Caled* of the Obligation they were under to protect the *Aleppians*, now their Confederates, who were likely to be expos'd to the utmost Outrage and Cruelty of *Youkínna*, who, in all probability, would severely resent their Desertion. They march'd as fast as they could, and when they drew near *Aleppo*, found that they were not at all deceiv'd in what they fear'd. *Youkínna* had drawn up his Soldiers with a Design to fall upon the Townsmen, and threatened them with Present Death, unless they would break their Covenant with the *Arabs*, and go out with him to fight them, and bring out to him the Person that was the first Contriver and Proposer of it. At last he fell upon them in good earnest, and kill'd about 300 of them. His Brother *John*, who was in the Castle, hearing a piteous Outcry and Lamentation,

Omar. Alwákidi.

tation, came down from the Castle, and intreated his Brother to spare the People, representing to him, that *Jesus Christ* had commanded us not to contend with our Enemies, much less with those of our own Religion. *Youkinna* told him, that they had agreed with the *Arabs*, and assisted 'em. Which *John* excus'd, telling him, *That what they did was only for their own Security, because they were no fighting Men.* In short, he took their part so long, till he provok'd his Brother to that degree, that he charg'd him with being the chief Contriver and Manager of the whole business; and at last, in a great Passion, cut his Head off: But our Author says, that he first made Profession of the *Mahometan* Religion, and went forthwith to Paradise. But very likely the Reason of his saying so, is, because he was a sober Man, and of a good Character, and he grudg'd that any such should die a Christian, and therefore made a *Mahometan* of him, envying the Christians the Credit of having a good Man among 'em. Whilst he was murdering the unhappy *Aleppians*, *Caled*, (better late than never) came to their Relief. Which *Youkin-*

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na perceiving, retir'd with a considerable Number of Soldiers into the Castle. The *Saracens* kill'd that Day 3000 of his Men: However he prepar'd for a Siege, and planted Engines upon the Castle-Walls. The *Aleppians* brought out 40 Prisoners, and deliver'd 'em to *Abu Obeidah*, who bad his Interpreter ask 'em, why they had made Prisoners of them? They answer'd, *Because they belong'd to* Youkínna, *and having fled to them, they durst not conceal them, not being included in the Articles. Abu Obeidah* commended their Fidelity, and told 'em, *They should find the Benefit of it*; and for their further Encouragement, added, *That what Plunder soever they got from any of the Christians should be their own, as a Reward of their good Service* Seven of these Prisoners turn'd *Mahometans*; the rest were beheaded.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Abu Obeidah next, in a Council of War, deliberates what Measures were most proper to be taken. Some were of Opinion, that it would be the best way to besiege the Castle with some part of the Army, and let the rest be sent out to forage. *Caled* would not hear of it, but was for having the Castle

Omar. Alwákidi.

attack'd with their whole Force at once; that, if possible, it might be taken before fresh Supplies should come from the *Grecian* Emperor. This concluded upon, they made a most vigorous Assault, and had as hard a Battle as any in all the Wars of *Syria*. The Besieged made a noble Defence, and threw Stones from the Walls in such Plenty, that a great many of the *Saracens* were kill'd, and a great many more maim'd. *Youkínna*, encouraged with his Success, design'd to act offensively, and take all Advantages. The *Saracens* look'd upon all the Country as their own, and knowing that there was no Army of the Enemy near 'em, nor fearing any thing from the Besieged, kept Guard negligently. *Youkínna*, in the dead of the Night, sent out a Party, who, as soon as the Fires were out in the Camp, fell upon the *Saracens*, and having killed about 60, carried off 50 Prisoners. *Caled* pursu'd and cut off about an hundred of them; the rest escap'd to the Castle with the Prisoners, who, by the Command of *Youkínna*, were the next Day beheaded in the sight of the *Saracen* Army. *Youkínna* upon this ventur'd once more to send out

Omar. Alwákidi.

Out another Party, having receiv'd Information from one of his Spies (most of which were Christian *Arabs*) that some of the Muslemans were gone out to forage. They fell upon the Muslemans, kill'd 130 of 'em, and seiz'd all their Camels, Mules and Horses, which having kill'd or hamstring'd, they retir'd into the Mountains, in hopes of lying hid that Day, and returning to the Castle in the Silence of the Night. In the mean time, some that had escap'd brought the News to *Abu Obeidah*, who sends *Caled* and *Derar* to pursue 'em. Coming to the Place where the Fight had been, they found their Men and Camels dead, and the Country People making great Lamentation, for they were afraid lest the *Saracens* should suspect 'em of Treachery, and revenge the Loss of their Men upon 'em. Whereupon they fell down before *Caled*, and told him they were altogether innocent, and had not any way, either directly or indirectly, been instrumental in it ; but that it was done by a Party of Horse that sallied from the Castle. *Caled* having sworn 'em, that they did not know any thing more, and taking some of 'em for

Omar. Alwákidi.

Guides, beset the only Passage by which the Besieged could return to the Castle. When about a fourth Part of the Night was past, they perceiv'd 'em coming, and falling upon 'em, took 300 Prisoners, and kill'd the rest. The Prisoners would have redeemed themselves, but they were all beheaded the next Morning before the Castle.

The *Saracens* laid a close Siege, but perceiving that they got no Advantage, *Abu Obeidah* remov'd the Camp about a Miles Distance from the Castle; hoping by this means to tempt the Besieg'd to Security and Negligence in their Watch, which might at some time afford him an Opportunity of taking the Castle by Surprize. But all would not do; for *Youkínna* kept a very strict Watch, and suffer'd never a Man to stir out. *Abu Obeidah* thought that there might be some Christian Spies in the Army; whereupon he and *Caled* walk'd about the Camp, to see if they could pick up any suspicious Persons. *Caled* at last observ'd a Man sitting with a Vest before him, which he turn'd first on the one side, and then on the other. *Caled* stept to him, and ask'd him, what Tribe he was of? The Fellow design'd

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to have nam'd another Tribe, if he had not been ſurpriz'd; but having the Queſtion put to him on a ſudden, the Word ſlipt out of his Mouth, and he anſwer'd of *Gaſſân*. *Sayſt thou ſo*, (anſwer'd *Caled*) *thou Enemy of God, thou art a Chriſtian Arab, and a Spy*, and ſeized him. The Fellow ſaid, that he was not, but a Muſleman. *Caled* carried him to *Abu Obeidah*, who bad him examine him in the *Alcoran*, and make him ſay his Prayers. But the poor Fellow had not one Word to ſay for himſelf, being altogether ignorant of thoſe Things: Upon which, without much arguing, he confeſs'd himſelf a Spy, and that he was not alone, but there were three of 'em in all, two of which were return'd to the Caſtle. *Abu Obeidah* bad him take his Choice, either of *Mahometaniſm* or Death, and he readily embrac'd the former.

Omar. Alwákidi.

The Siege continu'd four Months, and ſome ſay, five. In the mean time *Omar* was very much concern'd, having heard nothing from the Camp in *Syria*. He writes to *Abu Obeidah*, to let him know how tender he was over the *Muſlemans*, and what a great Grief it was to him to hear no News of 'em

Omar. Alwákidi.

in so long a time, *Abu Obeidah* answer'd, that *Kinnisrîn*, *Hader* and *Aleppo* were surrender'd to him, only the Castle of *Aleppo* held out, and that they had lost a considerable Number of Men before it. That he had some Thoughts of raising the Siege, and passing forwards into that Part of the Country which lies between *Aleppo* and *Antioch*; but only he staid for his Answer. About the time that *Abu Obeidah*'s Messengers got to *Medinah*, there came out of the several Tribes of the *Arabs* a considerable Number of Men, who proffer'd their Service to the *Caliph*. *Omar* order'd 70 Camels to help their Foot, and dispatch'd 'em into *Syria*, with a Letter to *Abu Obeidah*; in which he acquainted him, *That he was variously affected, according to the different Success they had had; but charg'd them by no means to raise the Siege of the Castle, for that would make them look little, and encourage their Enemies to fall upon them on all sides. Wherefore*, adds he, *continue besieging it, till God shall determine the Event, and forage with your Horse round about the Country.*

Among those fresh Supplies which *Omar* sent last to the *Saracen* Camp, there

there was a very remarkable Man, whoſe Name was *Dames*, of a Gigantick Size, and an admirable Soldier. When he had been in the Camp forty ſeven Days, and all the Force and Cunning of the *Saracens* could do nothing to the Caſtle, he deſir'd *Abu Obeidah* to let him have the Command of thirty Men, and he would try his beſt. *Caled* had heard much of the Man, and told *Abu Obeidah* a long Story of a wonderful Performance of this *Dames* in *Arabia*; that he was look'd upon as a very proper Perſon for ſuch an Undertaking. *Abu Obeidah* bad thoſe who were to go with him not deſpiſe their Commander, becauſe of the Meanneſs of his Condition, he being a Slave; and ſwore, that if the Care of the whole Army did not lye upon him, he would be the firſt Man that ſhould go under him upon ſuch an Enterprize. To which they anſwer'd with entire Submiſſion and profound Reſpect. *Dames* deſir'd *Abu Obeidah* to raiſe the Siege, and remove about a League's Diſtance from the Caſtle. When Night came, *Dames*, who lay hid at no great Diſtance, went out ſeveral times, and brought in with him five or ſix *Greeks*, but never a Man of

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi

'em understood one Word of Arabick, which made him angry, and say, *God curse these Dogs! What a strange barbarous Language they use.*

At last he went again, and there fell a Man down from the Wall; him he took, and by the Help of a Christian *Arab*, which he took afterwards, examin'd him; who gave him an Account, that immediately upon the Departure of the *Saracens*, *Youkínna* began to abuse the Townsmen that had agreed with the *Arabs*, and exact large Sums of Mony of them; that he was one of 'em, and had endeavour'd to make his Escape from the Oppression and Tyranny of *Youkínnah*, by leaping down from the Wall. They let him go, as being under their Protection by virtue of the Articles made between *Abu Obeidah* and the *Aleppians*; but beheaded all the rest.

Dames then takes out of a Knapsack a Goat's Skin; with this he covers his Back and Shoulders, and takes a dry Crust in his Hand, creeping upon all Four as near to the Castle as he could; and if he heard any Noise, or suspected any Person's being near, to prevent being discover'd, he made such a Noise

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Omar. Alwákidi.

with his Cruſt, as a Dog makes that's gnawing a Bone. The reſt of his Company came after, ſometimes ſculking and creeping along, at other times walking. He had ſent two of his Men to *Abu Obeidah*, to ſend him ſome Horſe about Sun-riſe. When they came to the Caſtle, they found it in a manner inacceſſible. However *Dames* was reſolv'd to leave nothing unattempted. Having found a Place where he thought it might be eaſieſt getting up, he ſits down upon the Ground, and orders another to ſit upon his Shoulders; and ſo till ſeven of 'em were gotten up, and ſat one upon the other's Shoulders, all of 'em leaning againſt the Wall with all their Strength. Then he that was uppermoſt of all ſtood upright upon the Shoulders of the ſecond. The ſecond aroſe next, and ſo on all in Order, till at laſt *Dames* himſelf ſtood up, who bore the Weight of all the reſt upon his Shoulders, unleſs they could relieve him, by bearing any part of their Weight againſt the Wall. By this time he that was uppermoſt could make a ſhift to reach the Top of the Wall. They all ſaid, *O Apoſtle of God help us and deliver us*! When he was

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Omar. Alwákidi.

got up, he found a Watchman drunk and asleep. He seiz'd him Hand and Foot, and threw him down among the *Saracens*, who immediately cut him to Pieces. Two other Watchmen, whom he found in the same Condition, he stabb'd with his Dagger, and threw down from the Wall. Then he let down his Turbant, and drew up the second; they two the third, till at last they drew up *Dames* too, who enjoin'd them Silence, till he should bring them further Information. He went and peep'd in, where he found *Youkínna*, richly dress'd, sitting upon a Tapestry of Scarlet Silk flower'd with Gold, and a large Company with him eating and drinking, and very merry. He came and told his Men, that he did not think it adviseable to fall upon 'em then, because of the great Inequality of their Numbers, but had rather take the Advantage of 'em about Break of Day; at which time there was no fear but there would come some Help from the Army. In the mean time he went alone, and privately stabbing the Porters, and setting open the Gates, came back to his Men, and bad them hasten to take Possession of the

the Gates. This was not done ſo ſecretly, but they were at laſt taken notice of, and the Caſtle alarm'd. There was no Hopes of eſcaping, but every one of 'em expected to periſh. It was now towards Morning; *Dames* behav'd himſelf bravely, but overpower'd with Multitude, they were not able to hold up, when *Caled* came to their Relief. As ſoon as the Beſieg'd perceiv'd the *Saracens* ruſhing in upon 'em, they threw down their Arms, and cry'd *Quarter!* *Abu Obeidah* was not far behind with the reſt of the Army. Having taken the Caſtle, and propos'd *Mahometaniſm* to the Chriſtians, the firſt that embrac'd it was *Youkinna*, and ſome of the chief Men with him, who immediately had their Wives and Children, and all their Wealth reſtor'd to them. *Abu Obeidah* ſet the old and impotent People at Liberty, and having taken out a Fifth Part of the Spoil of the Caſtle, (which was of great Value) divided the reſt among the Muſlemans. *Dames* was talk'd of, and admir'd by all, and *Abu Obeidah* paid him the Reſpect of making the Army continue in that place, till he and his Men were perfectly cured of their Wounds.

Omar. Alwakidi.

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Omar. Alwákidi.

Having taken the Castle of *Aleppo*, he had Thoughts of marching next to *Antioch*, then the Seat of the *Grecian* Emperor. But *Youkinna*, the late Governour of the Castle of *Aleppo*, with the changing of his Religion, being become an utter Enemy to the Christian Interest, perswaded him to defer his March to *Antioch*, till they had first taken the Castle of *Aazâz*, held by *Thedorus* his Cousin-German; a Place of Importance, and which, if not taken, would prove a great Nuisance to the *Saracens* on that side the Country; and proffer'd his Service. The way that he propos'd, was to take with him an hundred *Saracens*, dress'd in the *Grecian* Habit, and with them to ride to *Aazâz*. These hundred were to be pursu'd at a little Interval by a thousand other *Saracens* in their proper Habit. He said, *that he did not at all question a kind Reception at the Hands of his Kinsman* Theodorus. Whom he was to tell, *That he had only feign'd himself a* Mahometan, *till he could find an Opportunity of escaping; that he was pursu'd by the* Saracens, *&c.* If they were receiv'd, of which there was no doubt, they would in the Night fall upon the Inha-

Inhabitants; and those other, who pretended to pursue them, and should be order'd to stay at a Village call'd *Morah*, not far distant from *Aazâz*, should come to their Assistance. *Abu Obeidah* ask'd *Caled* what he thought of it, who approv'd of the Stratagem, provided they could be well assur'd of *Youkínna*'s Sincerity in the Execution of it. *Youkínna* us'd a great many very earnest Expressions to satisfy them of his Integrity; and after *Abu Obeidah* had, in a long Discourse, set before him the Danger of being treacherous on the one hand; and on the other, the Benefits that would accrue to him by faithfully serving the *Saracens*; they resolv'd to venture him, and chose ten a Piece out of ten several Tribes of the *Arabs*; each ten being commanded by a *Decurion*, and all of them committed to *Youkínna*. When they were gone about a League, *Abu Obeidah* sent after them 1000 Men, under *Malec Aláshtari*, with Order to lie still by way of Ambush, when they came near to *Aazâz*, till Night. They found the Village void of Inhabitants, which the Terror of the *Saracens* had scar'd further up into the Country. Whilst *Malec* was at that Village, he in-

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

intercepted a Christian *Arab*, who upon Examination told him, *That he and his Men must look to themselves, for all their Design was discovered: That there was a Spy in the Camp, who had heard all* Youkínna's *Contrivance, and given the Governour of* Aazâz *secret Intelligence of it, by a Letter tied under the Wing of a tame Pigeon* (a Practice not uncommon in these Parts.) *Upon which he* (meaning himself) *had been sent to* Lucas, *Governour of* Arrawendân, *to desire his Assistance. That he was coming, and could not be far off with* 500 *Horse. Youkínna* in the mean time coming to *Aazâz*, found the Town and Castle in a Posture of Defence, and his Cousin *Theodorus*, the Governour, at the Head of 3000 *Greeks*, and 10000 Christian *Arabs*, besides others that came out of the Villages. *Theodorus* made up to *Youkínna*, and alighting from his Horse, made profound Reverence, as if he would have kiss'd *Youkínna*'s Stirrup. In the mean time, he slily cut his Girth, and with one Push threw him flat on his Face upon the Ground. Then he and all his Men were immediately taken Prisoners. *Theodorus* spit in his Face, and reproach'd him with

with his apoſtatizing from the Chriſtian Religion; threatning Death to all his *Arabs*, and to ſend him to anſwer for himſelf before his Maſter the *Grecian* Emperor. All this while *Theodorus* knew nothing of *Malec*'s being ſo near; his Spy having only inform'd him of *Youkínna*'s intended Treachery, and not one Word of *Malec*'s feign'd Purſuit. The Prefect of *Arrawendân* came in the Night, according as he had promis'd *Theodorus*, with his five hundred Men, and were all intercepted by *Malec*, who had two to their one. Having made Priſoners of 'em, they diſguis'd themſelves in their Cloaths, and took the Chriſtian Colours in their Hands. Then *Malec* ask'd the Spy to turn *Mahometan*; which he did. He had been one before, at the ſame time when *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham* made Profeſſion of that Superſtition; but *Jabalah* thinking himſelf affronted by *Omar*, and revolting, thoſe Chriſtian *Arabs* that depended upon him, went off along with him; among which Number, this Spy taken by *Malec* at *Morah*, was one. He told *Malec*, that he had heard that *Mahomet* had ſaid, *That whoſoever changed his Religion ſhould be killed.*

Omar. Alwakidi.

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Omar. Alwákidi.

Malec said it was true, but God had said, *Illa man tâba waámana*; *Except he that repents and believes*; adding, That the Prophet himself had accepted of *Wahshy*'s Repentance, notwithstanding he had kill'd his Uncle *Hamzah*. *Thârick Algassâni* (that was the Spy's Name) hearing this, repeated the *La Ilaha*, &c. and *Malec* said, *May God accept thy Repentance, and strengthen thy Faith.* This done, he bad him go and tell the Governour of *Aazâz*, that the Governour of *Arrawendân* was coming to his Assistance; which he undertook, and, attended only by one Companion, went till he came near the Walls, where they heard a very great Noise of Shouting and Trumpets, which was occasion'd after this manner.

Theodorus, Governour of *Aazâz*, had a Son, whose Name was *Leon*; whom he used to send, now and then, for a Month or two, to be with his Uncle *Youkínna* at *Aleppo*-Castle. There he fell in Love with his Uncle's Daughter, a very beautiful Lady. Returning back, he acquaints his Mother with his Passion; who, very tenderly, was willing to contribute any thing that might be a means of procuring the proper Remedy.

Omar. Alwákidi.

medy. His Father *Theodorus* had put these Prisoners, *Youkínna* and his hundred disguised *Saracens*, into *Leon*'s Appartment. He, glad of this Opportunity of ingratiating himself with his Uncle, came and told him, that he had a Mind to release him and his Friends. *Youkínna* told him, that if he had any Inclination to turn *Mahometan*, he ought not to do it upon any Prospect of worldly Advantage. To which the young Villain, fir'd with Lust, and resolv'd upon the Match, answer'd, *That his Family and Relations were dear to him*; *but the Faith was dearer*. In short, he set 'em all at Liberty, gave 'em their Arms, and bad 'em go in the Name of God, whilst he went and killed his Father, whom he was sure to find drunk and asleep. Immediately the *Saracens*, now enlarg'd, fall upon the *Greeks*, who made a stout Resistance. During which time the Spies went back to *Malec*, to acquaint him how Things stood, who rode on a-pace, and came time enough to relieve their Friends, and take the Castle They gave great Thanks to *Youkínna*, who bad them *thank God, and this young Man*; meaning his Kinsman *Leon*, and told them

Omar. Alwákidi.

all the Story. To which *Malec* anſwer'd, *When God will have a Thing done, he prepares the Cauſes of it.* Then he ask'd, who kill'd *Theodorus?* *Leon* anſwer'd, *My elder Brother* Luke. *Malec* wonder'd, and ask'd him, how that came about, ſince ſuch a Thing was ſcarce ever heard of among the *Greeks*, that a Child ſhould murder his own Father. *Luke*, it ſeems, told them, *That it was out of Love to them, their Prophet and Religion. That they had a Prieſt who uſed to bring them up, who had told him long ſince of* Mahomet; *and that the* Saracens *ſhould moſt certainly conquer the Country*; *and that they had ſeveral Prophecies relating to it*; and much to that Purpoſe: *Wherefore he was glad of this Opportunity of becoming one of them*; *and had deſigned to have ſet his Unkle* Youkínna *and the Priſoners at Liberty, if his Brother* Leon *had not prevented him.* Hopeful Youths! who had prevented each other in a maſterly Piece of Villany; the one in murdering his Father; the other in ſetting at Liberty his moſt mortal Enemies, and betraying all his Friends! *Malec* gave him his Bleſſing, and having ſet *Saïd Ebn Amer* over the Caſtle, with that 100 Men

Omar. Alwákidi.

Men that came along with *Youkínna*, march'd with the Spoils to *Aleppo*. There were in the Castle of *Aazâz*, when the Muslemans took it, 1000 young Men, *Greeks*, 245 old Men and Monks, 1000 young Women and Girls, and 180 old Women.

Just as *Malec* was upon his March, the *Saracens* upon the Castle Wall gave such a Shout, as alarm'd all the rest, and gave them notice, that they saw a great Dust not far off. When they came near, it appear'd that they were only 1000 *Saracens*, which *Abu Obeidah* had sent under the Command of *Alphadl Bno'l Abbâs*, to plunder round about *Menbigz* (formerly *Hierapolis*) and the adjacent Villages, which they had done, and brought off the Spoil. *Malec* and *Alphadl* marched together; but *Youkínna* having had such bad Success, could not be perswaded to go along with them, being resolved not to appear at the Camp, nor show himself to the Army, till he had by some signal Service made amends for his Miscarriage, and retriev'd his Credit; but chose rather to go to *Antioch*. And tho' *Alphadl* endeavour'd to convince him that he was in no Fault, neither ought

Omar. Alwákidi.

to be concerned for it, and proved it by a Text of the *Alcoran*; yet he could not be satisfy'd nor reconcil'd to himself. Among *Alphadl*'s Men there were 200 *Renegado's*, who had, as well as their Master *Youkínna*, renounc'd their Christianity, and enter'd into the Service of the *Saracens*, and had their Families and Effects in the Castle of *Aleppo*: These seem'd to him to be the most proper Instruments to work withal. With these he marches towards *Antioch*. After the first Watch of the Night was past, he took four of his Relations, and commanded the rest to keep the direct high Road to *Antioch*, us'd by the *Caravans*, and to pretend that they fled from before the *Saracens*; telling them, *That they should see him at* Antioch, *if it pleased God.* He with his Friends going another way, was examin'd by some of the Emperor's Men, who no sooner understood that he was the late Governour of *Aleppo*, but they sent him with a Guard of Horse to *Antioch*. *Heraclius* wept at the sight of him, and told him, *That he was inform'd he had chang'd his Religion.* To which he answer'd, *That what he had done was only in order to reserve himself*

Omar. Alwákidi.

self for his Majesty's further Service: That he had taken this Opportunity of flying to him from Aazâz: *That the vigorous Defence he had made at* Aleppo, *was a sufficient Testimony of his Zeal for his Religion and his Fidelity to his Majesty.* The Emperor receiv'd the Apostate with great Tenderness and Respect, and the greatest part of the Court were inclin'd to entertain a charitable Opinion of him. Nay, so favourably did the Emperor judge of him, that he not only made him Commander over those two hundred which belong'd to him, when they came to *Antioch*; but when his youngest Daughter, who was then in another Place, had sent to her Father, the Emperor, for a Guard to conduct her safe to *Antioch*, *Youkínna* was entrusted with this Charge, and had under him for this Purpose 2200 Men. Whilst they were upon this Expedition, as he was in his Return, about Midnight, the *Greek* Horses prick'd up their Ears, and began to neigh, and some of his advanc'd Guards brought him Intelligence of a Party of *Saracens* in a very negligent Posture, most of 'em being asleep, and their Horses feeding. *Youkínna* seem-

Omar. Alwákidi.

ingly encourag'd his Men; but, that he might do the Saracens what secret Service he could, commanded 'em not to kill but take 'em Prisoners, that they might afterwards serve to exchange for the Christians. When they came a little nearer, they found themselves mistaken; for those which they took to be *Mahometans*, prov'd to be 1000 Christian *Arabs*, under the Command of *Haïm*, Son of *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayam*, who had surpriz'd *Derar*, and taken him Prisoner, and with him 200 Saracens, sent out by *Abu Obeidah*, to forage in the Northern Parts of *Syria*. Upon which *Youkinna* alights from his Horse, and pays his Respects to *Haïm*, hypocritically congratulating his good Success. *Abu Obeidah* now resolv'd, pursuant to the *Caliph*'s Command, to march without delay to *Antioch*. The Emperor in the mean time was acquainted with the Approach of his Daughter, and *Haïm*'s good Success, which caus'd great Rejoycing in *Antioch*. The Prisoners were brought into the Emperor's Presence, and being commanded to fall down in a Posture of Adoration, they took no notice of those that spoke to 'em, nor look'd that way,

way, nor made any Anſwer. At laſt being urg'd to it, *Derar* anſwer'd, *That they did not think Adoration was due to any Creature; beſides our Prophet has forbidden us to pay it.* The Emperor ask'd ſeveral Queſtions concerning their Prophet, and they beckon'd to *Kais Ebn Amer*, an old Man, and thoroughly acquainted with thoſe Matters, to anſwer him. Among other Queſtions, the Emperor ask'd him, after what manner Inſpiration us'd to come upon their Prophet, at his firſt ſetting forth? *Kais* told him, that *Mahomet* himſelf having been formerly ask'd that Queſtion by an Inhabitant of *Meccah*, anſwer'd, *That ſometimes it us'd to be like the Sound of a Bell, but ſtronger and ſharper; ſometimes an Angel appear'd to me in humane Shape, and diſcours'd with me, and I committed to Memory what he ſaid.* Ayeſha *ſaid, that once the Spirit of Prophecy deſended upon him on a very cold Day, and when it was gone off from him, his Foreheadran down with Sweat. The firſt Meſſage he receiv'd was in a Dream; and whenever he ſaw a Viſion, it appear'd to him like the breaking forth of the Morning-Brightneſs. Then he ſhut himſelf up in a cloſe Place alone, where he*

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

continu'd till the TRUTH *came to him. An Angel came to him, being thus shut up, and said,* Read. *To which he answer'd,* I cannot read. *Then the Angel repeated it, and having instructed him in Things to come, sent him forth, and said to him,* * Read in the Name of thy Lord who created, *&c. With which the Apostle of God* (Mahomet) *return'd to his place,* with his Flesh trembling. *Then he went into the House to* Chadijah, *and said, Zammiloúni, Zammiloúni,* Wrap me up, wrap me up. *Upon which they wrapped him up in Blankets, till he came to himself, and his Fear was gone off: After which he gave an Account of the whole Matter to* Chadijah, *after this manner.*

* Alcoran, *Chap.* XCVI. v. 1. *according to the Order of the Copies now in use; tho' the Mahometans take it for the first Chapter of the whole* Alcoran.

As I was walking (said he) *I heard a Voice from Heaven; and lifting up my Eyes, I saw the same Angel which came to me before, sitting upon a Throne between Heaven and Earth. Being afraid of him, I went home, and said, Zammiloúni Datthiroúni,* wrap me up in Blankets and Matts. *And at that time God sent down to me that Chapter which begins with these Words,* * O thou that art wrapped in Blankets: *And part of that which begins with these Words,* † O thou that art wrap-

* *It is the* LXXIII. *of the* Alcoran.

† Alcoran. *Chap.* LXXIV.

wrapped in Matts, *to these Words*, And flee from the Punishment; which is the fifth Verse of that Chapter. Omar. Alwákidi.

The *Byzantine* Historians, and those other Writers who have followed them blindfold in their Account of *Mahomet*, will needs have it, that *Mahomet* was troubled with the Falling-Sickness: And ‖ *Hottinger* takes his being wrapp'd up in Mats and Blankets for an undeniable Proof of it. As for the *Byzantines*, their Authority in this Matter is of no great weight at all, especially considering they always make it their Business to represent *Mahomet* as full of all manner of Imperfections, both of Body and Mind as possible; as if the Christian Religion was best serv'd by preverting of History. As to his being wrapped up in Blankets, there might be many Occasions of that besides the Falling-Sickness; and his being troubled with that Disease having no Foundation in any *Arabick* Historian, it ought, till it be better made appear, to be rejected among the rest of those idle Stories which have been told of *Mahomet* by the Christians.

‖ Historia Orientalis, *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 2. *p.* 10, 11.

To return to our History. The Emperor afterwards ask'd him, what he Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwakidi.

he had ſeen of *Mahomet*'s Miracles. *Kais* told him, that being once upon a Journey with him, there came an *Arabian* up to them, whom *Mahomet* ask'd, if he would teſtify, that there was but *one God, and that he was his Prophet.* The *Arabian* ask'd him, what Witneſs he had that what he ſaid was true? To which *Mahomet* anſwer'd, *This Tree:* And calling the Tree to him, it came upright, plowing the Ground up with its Roots. *Mahomet* bad it bear witneſs: Which it did; ſaying three times, *Thou art the Apoſtle of God.* After which it return'd, and ſtood in its Place as before. *Heraclius* ſaid, He had heard, that it was a part of their Religion to believe, that if any of them did any Good, it ſhould be return'd to them ten-fold: If evil, only once. *Kais* told him, that it was true, and quoted this text out of the Alcoran; * *He that does Good ſhall receive ten times ſo much; but he that does Evil, ſhall receive only ſo much.* The Emperor ask'd him, if their Prophet was not called the *Witneſs.* To which *Kais* anſwer'd, That he was the *Witneſs* in this World, and the Witneſs againſt Men in the World to come, because

* *Chap.* VI. 161. XL. 43.

cause God says, * *O Prophet! we have sent thee a Witness, and a Preacher of good News, and a Warner.* The Emperor ask'd him concerning *Mahomet*'s Nights Journey to Heaven, and his discoursing there with the most High: which *Kais* affirmed to be true, and prov'd it from the first Verse of the seventeenth Chapter of the *Alcoran.* Then the Emperor ask'd him concerning their fasting in the Month *Ramadan*; in which, *Mahomet* affirm'd, that the *Alcoran* came down from Heaven; which *Kais* acknowledg'd. A Bishop who was present at this Conference, speaking something to the Disparagement of *Mahomet*, provok'd *Derar Ebnol Azwâr* (one of the Prisoners) to such a degree, that he gave him the Lye, and reviled him in most reproachful Language, affirming that *Mahomet* was a Prophet, but the Veil of Infidelity hinder'd them from the Knowledge of him. Upon which some of the Christians drew their Swords, to chastize his Insolence: But it seems he had a most wonderful Deliverance; for tho' they struck at him fourteen times, he escaped safe. However, if *Youkinna* had not interceded for a Reprieve till the

Omar. Alwâkidi.

* Alcoran, *Chap.* XLVIII. 8. & XXXIII. 44.

Omar. Alwákidi.

the next Day, he would certainly have been executed by the Emperor's Command.

In the mean time *Abu Obeidah* proceeded in his March, receiving by Surrender those Places which remain'd, till he came to that Bridge which they call'd the *Iron Bridge*, very near *Antioch*. The Emperor commits the Care of the Army, and the City to *Youkínna*, and deliver'd to him a Crucifix out of the Church, which was never shewn publickly, but upon extraordinary Occasions Then he call'd for the Prisoners. But *Youkínna* told him, that it would be the best way to spare them, because if any of the Christians should be taken, they might be exchang'd: Upon which Suggestion their Execution was deferr'd, and by the Advice of the Bishops, they were carried into the Great Church, to see if any of them would embrace the Christian Religion, and be baptiz'd. *Amer*, the Son of *Rephâa* turn'd; but our Author will needs have it, that it was the Dress and Beauty of the *Grecian* Ladies influenc'd the Young Man more than any Conviction of Conscience. When his Father *Rephâa* heard of it, he broke out

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into this passionate Exclamation: *What! turn Infidel after having embrac'd the Faith! Alas for thee! Thou art driven from the Gate of the most Merciful. Alas for thee, thou hast denied the King, the Judge. Alas for thee, thou Reprobate! How hast thou denied the Lord of Might and perfect Power! I swear by God, that I weep not for thee, because I must part with thee in this World, but because I must part with thee in the next; when thou must go one way, and I another. When thou shalt go to the Habitation of Devils, and be plac'd with these Priests and Deacons in the * lowest Mansion of Hell, I shall go with the Followers of* Mahomet, *(upon whom be the Blessing of God) to meet those Spirits which converse with him. O Son chuse not the Delights of this present World before that to come. Oh! How shall I be astonish'd and confounded for this that thou hast done, when thou comest to stand in the Presence of the Lord of all Power and Might, the King of this World, and that to come! And how shall I be ashamed before* Mahomet, *the elect Prophet of God! O Son! From whom wilt thou seek Intercession † another Day!*

Omar. Alwákidi.

* Arab. Sadisati. *i. e. The Sixth.*

† Arab. Gadan. *i. e.* To Morrow. *It is used to express future Time; and signifies in this Place the Day of Judgment.*

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Omar. Alwâkidi.

The Young Man was baptiz'd, and received with great Courtesy both by the Emperor and the Bishops. The Emperor gave him a Horse, and a young Woman, and listed him into *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*'s Army, consisting of Christian *Arabs*. The Patriarch ask'd the rest, what hindred them from turning Christians too. To which they answer'd, *The truth of our Religion.* The Patriarch represented to them the Danger they incurr'd, by displeasing *Jesus Christ.* To which *Rephâa* reply'd, *That it would one Day be determined, which Party was rejected, and which in the Favour of God. Heraclius* told them, that he had been informed that their *Caliph* us'd to wear very mean Apparel; adding, That he had gotten enough from the Christians to afford himself a better Dress, and ask'd, what should hinder him from going like other Princes. *Rephâa* told him, *That the Consideration of the other World, and the Fear of God hinder'd him.* To the other Questions propos'd by the Emperor, they answer'd in a Cant so very much like what our Ears have for some late Years been us'd to, that were it not for the Difference of the Language,

Omar. Alwákidi.

güage, we might justly have suspected them to have been nearer Neighbours. The Emperor ask'd them, *What sort of a Palace their Caliph had?* They said, it was made of Mud. *And who* (said the Emperor) *are his Attendants?* The Beggars and poor People. *What Tapestry does he sit upon?* Justice and Uprightness. *And what is his Throne?* Abstinence and certain Knowledge. *And what is his Treasure?* Trust in God. *And who are his Guard?* The stoutest of the *UNITARIANS.* They added, *Do'st thou not know, O King! that several have said unto him, O* Omar *! Lo, thou possessest the Treasures of the* Cæsars; *and Kings and great Men are subdued unto thee: Now therefore why putteſt thou not on rich Garments? He said unto them, Ye seek the outward World, but I seek the Favour of him that is Lord both of this World, and that to come.*

The Emperor having discours'd with them as long as he thought fit, remanded them to Prison, and went to take a view of his Army, which he found drawn up without the City in very good Order. At the Head of every Regiment there was a little Church made of Wood, for the Soldiers to go

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Omar. Alwákidi.

to Prayers in. On a ſudden, he was inform'd that the *Arabs* were Maſters of the *Iron Bridge*. He was very much ſurpriz'd to hear that they had taken two Towers, in which there were no fewer than three hundred Officers, in ſo ſhort a time; but it ſeems they were betray'd: Which was occaſion'd thus; A great Officer at Court us'd to go every Day to ſee that theſe Towers were well guarded, and not neglected. One Day he found thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it was to take care of theſe Towers, drinking and revelling, and no Body upon Duty. Provok'd with this intolerable Negligence, he order'd them fifty Laſhes a-piece. This ſevere Diſcipline made them ſtudy Revenge; and accordingly, when *Abu Obeidah* and his Army drew near, they made Articles for themſelves, and deliver'd the Towers into the Hands of the Saracens.

The Emperor having now no Hopes left, aſſembled the Biſhops and great Men together in the Great Church, and there bewail'd the unhappy Fate of *Syria*. *Jabalah* told him, that if the *Caliph* was kill'd, the Affairs of the Saracens would be embroil'd, and it would

would be of great Moment towards the Recovery of what he had loſt. Having obtained Leave, he ſent one of his Chriſtian *Arabs*, whoſe Name was *Wathek Ebn Moſápher*, a reſolute young Man, with Orders to take a convenient Opportunity of killing the *Caliph*. *Omar*, after Prayers, went out of the City, to take a Walk, according to his Cuſtom. *Wathek* went before him, and got upon a Tree, where he ſat privately, till at laſt he obſerv'd *Omar* lie down to ſleep very near him. Having this fair Opportunity, he drew his Dagger, and was juſt coming down, when caſting his Eyes about, he ſaw a Lion walking round about *Omar*, and licking his Feet; who guarded him till he awoke, and then went away. Surpriz'd at this, and ſtruck with a profound Reverence for the *Caliph*, whom he now look'd upon as the peculiar Care of Heaven, he came down and kiſs'd his Hand, and having told him his Errand, made Profeſſion of the *Mahometan* Religion immediately, being ſtrangely affected with this wonderful Deliverance.

Omar. Alwákidi.

In the mean time the Armies before *Antioch* drew near to Battle, and the

Omar. Alwákidi.

Christian General's Name was *Nestorius*. He went out first, and challeng'd any *Saracen* to single Combat. *Dames* answer'd him; but in the Engagement, his Horse stumbling, he was seiz'd before he could recover himself, and being taken Prisoner, was convey'd to *Nestorius* his Tent, and there bound. *Nestorius* returning to the Army, and offering himself a second time, was answer'd by one *Dehâc*. The Combatants behav'd themselves bravely, and the Victory was doubtful, which made all the Soldiers desirous of being Spectators. The justling and thronging both of Horse and Foot to see this Engagement, threw down *Nestorius* his Tent and Chair of State. He had three Servants left in the Tent, who fearing they should be beaten when their Master came back, and having no body else to help them, told *Dames*, that if he would lend them an Hand to set up the Tent, and put Things in Order, they would unbind him, upon Condition that he should voluntarily return to his Bonds again, till their Master came home, at which time they promis'd to speak a good Word for him. He readily accepted the Terms; but as soon as he was

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Omar. Alwákidi.

at Liberty, he immediately seiz'd two of them, one in his Right Hand, the other in his Left, and dash'd their two Heads so violently against the third Man's that they all three fell down dead upon the Place. Then he open'd a Chest, and took out a good Suit of Cloaths, and mounting a good Horse of *Nestorius*'s, he wrapp'd up his Face as well as he could, and made towards the Christian *Arabs*, where *Jabalah* with the chief of his Tribe stood on the Left Hand of *Heraclius*. In the mean time, *Dehâc* and *Nestorius*, being equally match'd, continu'd fighting, till both their Horses were quite tir'd out, and they were oblig'd to part by Consent, to rest themselves. *Nestorius* returning to his Tent, and finding Things in such a Posture, easily guess'd that it must be *Dames* his doing. The News flew instantly through all the Army, and every one was surpriz'd at the Strangeness of the Action. *Dames*, in the mean time, had gotten among the Christian *Arabs*, and striking off at one Blow a Man's Head that stood next him, made a speedy Escape to the *Saraten* Army.

Omar. Alwákidi.

All this while *Youkínna* was contriving which way to do the *Saracens* Service; and when *Derar* and his Companions had been Prisoners eight Months, and were just about being beheaded, he interceeded with the Emperor to spare them; assuring him, that if he put them to Death, the *Saracens* would never more give Quarter to any Christian, whenever any of them should fall into their Hands. The Emperor not suspecting any Treachery, committed them to his Care; who, watching a convenient Opportunity, set them at Liberty, and gave them their Arms, assuring them, that there were a great many Persons of the highest Quality in the Emperor's Service, who were fully resolv'd to go over to the *Saracens*. The Emperor dishearten'd with a constant Course of ill Success, and terrify'd with a Dream which he had of one thrusting him out of his Throne, and his Crown falling from his Head, took some of his Domesticks, and escaping privately to the Sea-shore, embark'd for *Constantinople*.

Our Author tells us a strange Story of the Emperor's turning *Mahometan*, which was occasion'd by a great Pain in

Omar. Alwákidi.

in his Head, for which he could get no Help, till he applied himself to *Omar*, who sent him a Cap, which so long as he wore he was well; but when he took it off it return'd again. The Emperor wondering at this strange Effect, would have the Cap ripp'd open; but found nothing in it but a little piece of Paper, with *Bismillah, Arrahmâni 'rrahhîmi, In the Name of the most merciful God*, written upon it. This Cap, it seems, was possess'd by the Christians till the Reign of *Almotásem* (which began in the Year of our Lord 833.) who besieging *Ammouriyah*, was grievously afflicted with the Head-ach; upon which the Governour of the Town promis'd him the Cap, upon Condition that he should raise the Sege. The *Caliph*, *Almotásem*, undertook it, provided the Cap produc'd the desired Effect, which it did incontinently, and the Siege was accordingly rais'd. The same Curiosity which mov'd the Emperor *Heraclius* to have the Cap open'd, made this *Caliph* do so too; but he found nothing in it but the above-mention'd Scrip of Paper; whose Vertue was not in the least impair'd or diminish'd in the space of two

Omar. Alwákidi.

hundred Years; which Period of Time, would, in all Probability, have made some Alteration in an ordinary Medicine. But the Case is quite different here, for we have been told by other Hands, that the Relicks of holy Men are never the worse for wearing. What is it that some Men will not believe and write when once bigotted to Superstition!

To return to the Army. *Antioch* was not lost without a set Battel; but through the Treachery of *Youkínna*, and several other Persons of Note, together with the Assistance of *Derar* and his Company, who were mixt with *Youkínna*'s Men, the Christians were beaten entirely. The People of the Town perceiving the Battle lost, made Agreement, and surrender'd, paying down three hundred thousand Ducats. Upon which *Abu Obeidah* enter'd into *Antioch* on Tuesday, being the twenty first Day of *August*, in the Year of our Lord 638.

Hegjrah 17. A. D. 638.

Thus fell that ancient and famous City, the Seat of so many Kings and Princes, into the Hands of the Infidels. The Sweetness of the Situation, and Abundance of all things contributing to Delight and Luxury, was so great, that

Omar. Alwákidi.

that *Abu Obeidah*, fearing lest his Saracens, effeminated with the Delicacies of that Place, should remit any thing of their wonted Vigour and Bravery, durst not let them continue there long; but after three Days Refreshment, withdrew them from thence.

Then he wrote a Letter to the *Caliph*, in which he gave him an Account of his great Success in taking the *Metropolis* of *Syria*, and *Heraclius* his Flight to *Constantinople*: Telling him withal, what was the reason why he staid no longer there. He added, that the Saracens were desirous of marrying the *Grecian* Women, which he had forbidden. That he was afraid lest the Love of the things of this World should take Possession of their Hearts, and draw them off from their Obedience to God. That he staid expecting further Orders, *&c.*

Having written this Letter, he ask'd who would carry it. *Zeid Ebn Waheb*, who was *Omar Ebn Auf*'s Slave, proffer'd his Service. *Abu Obeidah* told him, that since he was a Slave, he could not in any case dispose of his Service, but must first ask his Master's Leave. *Zeid* hereupon went to his Master, and

Omar. Alwakidi.

bow'd himſelf down to the Ground, to touch it with his Forehead, according to the manner of Proſtration in the *Eaſtern* Countries: But his Maſter forbad him, being a Man altogether abſtracted from the Love of the Things of this World, and not deſiring any ſuch Reſpect, as being wholly intent and fix'd upon the other World. He was abſtinent to ſuch a degree, that his whole Inventory conſiſted in theſe few Neceſſaries; a Sword, a Launce, a Horſe, a Camel, a Knapſack, a Platter, and an Alcoran. When any part of the Spoil fell to his Share, he never laid up any thing for himſelf, but always divided it amongſt his Friends; and if there was any thing left, he ſent it to the *Caliph*, to be diſtributed among the Poor. *Zeid* having ask'd his leave to carry the Letter, he was ſo well pleas'd to ſee ſuch a good Inclination in his Slave, to be a Meſſenger of good News to the *Caliph*, that he immediately gave him his Freedom. When *Zeid* came near to *Medinah*, he was ſurpriz'd with an unuſual Noiſe; but upon Enquiry, he was inform'd, that the Caliph was going on Pilgrimage to *Meccah*, and the Prophet's Wives along with him.

him. *Omar*, having heard the News, fell down and worshipp'd, saying, *O God! Praise and Thanks be to thee, for thine abundant Grace.* Having read the Letter, he wept, and said, that *Obu Obeidah* had not been kind to the *Muslemans.* Then sitting down upon the Ground, he wrote an Answer to *Abu Obeidah*; in which, after having express'd with what Satisfaction he receiv'd the News of his good Success; he blam'd him, for not having been more indulgent to the *Muslemans*; adding, *That God did not forbid the Use of the good Things of this Life to faithful Men, and such as perform'd good Works: Wherefore he ought to have given them leave to rest themselves, and partake freely of those good Things which the Country afforded. That if any of the Saracens had no Family in* Arabia, *they might marry in* Syria; *and whosoever of them wanted any Female Slaves, might purchase as many as he had Occasion for.* He order'd him to pursue the Enemy, and enter into the Mountainous part of the Country; and then concluded.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Zeid returning to the Army with the *Caliph*'s Letter, found the Saracens full of Joy; occasion'd by *Caled*'s good Success,

Omar. Alwákidi.

ceſs, who had gone through the Country as far as the *Euphrates*, and taken *Menbigz*, and ſome other neighbouring Towns, as *Berâa* and *Bâles*, upon Surrender; the Inhabitants paying down one hundred thouſand Ducats for their preſent Security, and ſubmitting to Tribute for the time to come. This was done in the Month *Moharram*, of the eighteenth Year of the *Hegjrah*; which anſwers partly to *January*, of the Year of our Lord 638, according to our Account. Our Author muſt here, as in ſome other Places, anſwer for his own Chronology; for the Meſſenger *Zeid* was ſent to *Medinah* preſently after the taking of *Antioch*, which was in *Auguſt*; and there is no account given of any Buſineſs extraordinary that detain'd him there: Which makes it look ſomething ſtrange, that he ſhould be four Months going and returning from *Antioch* (or *Aleppo*) to *Medinah*, eſpecially conſidering with what quick Diſpatch the Saracens us'd to move upon ſuch Occaſions.

Abu Obeidah having receiv'd the *Caliph*'s Letter, ask'd the *Muſlemans*, which of them would undertake to make an Attempt upon the mountain-

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ous part of the Country. Whether the Difficulty of the Service, or what other Reason discourag'd them, is uncertain; but no body answer'd him the two first times. At last *Méisarah Ebn Mesroùk* proffer'd his Service, and receiv'd at the Hands of the General a black Flag, with this Inscription upon it in white Letters, THERE IS BUT ONE GOD: *MAHOMET* IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD. He took along with him 300 chosen *Arabs*, besides 1000 Slaves, Blacks, commanded by *Dames*. They found it a very uneasy Undertaking; for tho' the Summer came on apace, they were forc'd to make use of all the Cloaths they had, and knew very well what to have done with more; for they met with nothing but Frost and Snow amongst the Mountains; which was extreamly disagreeable to their Bodies, who had been brought up under the *Torrid Zone*. Marching a long way, they came to Village; but finding no body in it (for the Country fled before them) they took what there was, and mov'd forwards. At last they took a Prisoner, who inform'd them, that there were Forces of the Emperor, to

Omar Alwakidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

to the number of thirty thousand, sent to guard that part of the Country, not above three Leagues distant. They ask'd him, whether it were most advisable to advance towards them, or stand their Ground. To which he answer'd, *That it were better for them to stay where they were, than to hazard themselves by going any further among the Mountains.* The Saracens having examin'd him as long as they thought fit, offer'd him the *Mahometan* Religion; which he refusing, was beheaded. In a short time after, the *Greeks* came within sight, and the Battle was join'd. *Méisarah*, over-power'd with Multitude, was soon surrounded. However he sent a Messenger to *Abu Obeidah*, who made such haste, that as soon as he came into his Presence, he was not able to speak a Word, but fell down in a Swoon. *Abu Obeidah* having caus'd some Water to be sprinkled on his Face, and refresh'd him with Meat and Drink, he came to himself, and deliver'd his Errand. Upon which *Abu Obeidah* sent *Caled* to *Méisarah*'s Assistance with 3000 Horse; and after him *Ayâd Ebn Ganam* with 2000 more. But before they came up, *Abdollâh Ebn Hodapha*,

pha, a Saracen of Note, and much belov'd by the *Caliph*, was taken Prisoner, and sent away towards *Constantinople*. The *Greeks* perceiving there were fresh Supplies come to the Saracens, durst not run the hazard of another Battle the next Day, but withdrew in the Night, and left their Tents to the Saracens. They not thinking it a prudent part to pursue the Enemy any further in that mountainous Country, return'd to *Abu Obeidah*, who writing an Account of the whole Business to *Medinah*, the *Caliph* was extreamly concern'd at the Loss of *Abdollah Ebn Hodâpha*, which occasion'd his writing the following Letter to the Emperor *Heraclius*.

Omar. Alwâkidi.

In the Name of the most merciful God.

* Praise be to God, Lord of this and the other World: † Who has neither ‖ Female Consort, nor Son. *And the Blessing of God be upon* Mahomet, *his Prophet and Apostle* * *divinely assisted. From the Servant of God*, Omar Ebn Alchitab *to* Heraclius *King of* Greece. *As soon as this Letter of mine shall come to thy Hands, send to me the Prisoner that is*

* Alcoran, *Chap.* I. 1.
† Alcoran, *Chap.* LXXII. 3
‖ Arab. Sahhibah.
* Arab. Almowayad.

Omar. Alwâkidi.

is with thee; whose Name is Abdollâh Ebn Hodâpha: *Which if thou shalt do, I shall hope that God will direct thee into the* * *right Way. But if thou refuseſt, I shall send thee Men,* † whom Trade and Merchandice ſhall not divert from the Remembrance of God. ‖ Health and Happineſs be upon every one that follows the right Way.

* *That is, into the Profession of the Mahometan Religion.*

† Alcoran. *Chap.* XXIV. 37. LXIII. 9.

‖ Alcor. *Chap.* XX. 49.

I do not queſtion but the Reader will think this Letter writ in a very particular Stile; but it is no other than what might be expected from thoſe moſt inveterate and Mortal Enemies of Chriſtianity, who made it always their Buſineſs to treat the Profeſſors of it with the utmoſt Contempt and Averſion. This Priſoner, *Abdollâh Ebn Hodâpha*, was *Mahomet*'s Couſin German. Our Author tells us, that the Emperor made him very large Proffers, if he would have renounc'd his *Mahometaniſm*; but all in vain. Nor were his Threats more influencing than his Promiſes. It ſeems he proffer'd him his Liberty, if he would but have made one ſingle Adoration before a Crucifix. The Emperor would have perſwaded him to have drunk Wine, and eat Hogs Fleſh; which

which he refusing, was shut up into a Room where he had nothing else. Upon the fourth Day they visited him, and found all untouch'd. The Emperor ask'd him, what hindred him from Eating and Drinking? To which he answer'd, *The Fear of God and his Apostle: Notwithstanding* (added he) *I might lawfully have eat it after three Days Abstinence, yet I Abstain'd, because I would not be reproach'd by the Muslemans. Heraclius* having receiv'd *Omar*'s Letter, not only dismiss'd the Prisoner, but gave both him and the Messenger that brought the Letter, several Presents, and rich Cloaths, and allowed them a sufficient Guard to conduct them safe through his Territories. Besides all this, he made a Present of a costly Jewel to *Omar*, who offer'd it to the Jewellers at *Medinah*; but they were ignorant of the Worth of it. The *Muslemans* would have perswaded him to have kept it for his own Use; but he said, he could not answer that to the Publick. Wherefore it was afterward sold, and the Price of it put into the publick Treasury; of which the *Caliph* was in these Days only the Steward or Manager: For tho' it was all at his

Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

his Disposal, yet he very seldom apply'd any of it to his own private Use, much less to Extravagance and Luxury; but took care to lay it out so as it might do most Service to the Publick.

We have before acquainted the Reader, that after *Omar* had taken *Jerusalem*, he divided the Army, and sent one part of it under *Abu Obeidah*, towards *Aleppo*; the other under *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* to *Ægypt*. *Amrou* did not march directly to *Ægypt*, but continu'd a while in *Palestine*, to take some Places there which as yet held out. As he was marching towards *Cæsarea*, the Saracens found the Weather extreamly cold. *Sobeih Ebn Hamzah*, eating some Grapes at that time, was so chill'd, that he was scarce able to endure it. An old Christian that was present, told him, that if he found himself cold with eating the Grapes, the best Remedy would be to drink some of the Juice of them, and withal produc'd a large Vessel of Wine. *Sobeih* and some of his Friends took the old Man's Advice, and drank so freely of his Liquor, that they went staggering to the Army. *Amrou* understanding their Condition, wrote

to

to *Abu Obeidah*; by whose Order they all receiv'd a sufficient Number of Stripes upon the Soles of their Feet. The Refreshment they receiv'd by drinking the Wine, was so far, in their Opinion, from counter-balancing the Severity of the Punishment, that *Sobeith* swore he would kill that Fellow that help'd him to it; and had been as good as his Word, if one that was present had not told him, that the Man was under the Protection of the *Saracens*.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Constantine, the Emperor *Heraclius* his Son, guarded that part of the Country where *Amrou* lay, with a considerable Army; and frequently sent Spies (Christian *Arabs*) into his Camp. One of them went one time, and sat down amongst some *Arabs* of *Aymâan*, or *Arabia Fœlix*, that had made them a Fire. Having convers'd with them as long as was for his Purpose, without being suspected; as he was rising to go away, he trod upon his Vest and stumbled; upon which he swore, *By Christ*, unawares. The Oath was no sooner out of his Mouth, but they immediately knew him to be a Christian Spy, and cut him to Pieces in an instant. *Amrou* was angry, when he heard it,

Omar. Alwákidi.

because he would have had the examining him first. Besides, he told them, *That it oftentimes happen'd, that a Spy, when put to it, came over to them, and embrac'd the Mahometan Religion.* Upon which he gave a strict Order throughout the Camp, that if ever they met with a Stranger or Spy, they should convey them to him.

The Armies drawing near, there came a Christian Priest to the *Saracens*, who desir'd that an *Emîr*, or *Principal Officer*, might be sent to *Constantine*, to discourse with him. There was a huge, monstrous Fellow, a Black, whose Name was *Belâl Ebn Rébah*, who proffer'd his Service. But *Amrou* told him, that it would be better to send an *Arabian*, who could talk more politely than an *Æthiopian*. *Belâl* resolving, if possible, to take no Denial, adjur'd him by God to let him go. To which *Amrou* answer'd, *That since he had adjur'd him by the most Mighty, it should be so.* This *Belâl* had formerly been *Mahomet*'s Crier; that is, the Person that calls the People together to Prayers. And never exercis'd that Office * (as the Author of the History of *Jerusalem* says) after *Mahomet*'s Death, but

* MS. Arab. Pococ. Num. 362.

but only once, when *Omar* commanded him to perform that Service at the taking of *Jerusalem*: Otherwise, I suppose it would have been beneath him to have serv'd any other Person, who had been employ'd after that manner by the Prophet; but the taking of *Jerusalem*, which had been the Seat of the ancient Prophets, and was a Place very much reverenc'd by the *Mahometans*, was an extraordinary Occasion. * When he came to the Priest, he disdain'd to have an *Æthiopian* sent, and bad him go back again, telling him, that his Master *Constantine* had not sent for a Slave, but an Officer. *Belâl*, who valu'd himself very much upon his Office, and expected every one should do so too, thought himself affronted; and let him know, that he had been no less a Person than the *Muézzin* of the Apostle of God, and that he was able to give his Master an Answer. But this not being receiv'd, he was forc'd to go back again; and at last *Amrou* resolv'd to go himself. It will not be amiss to insert a short Account of their Conference, as deliver'd by our Author, that the Reader may see what sort of a Notion the *Mahometans* have of ancient History.

Omar. Alwákidi.

* Alwákidi.

Omar. Alwákidi.

When *Amrou* came into *Constantine*'s Presence, he offer'd him a Seat; but, according to the Practice of the *Saracens*, he refus'd to make use of it; chusing rather to sit cross-legg'd upon the Ground, with his Sword upon his Thigh, and his Launce laid a-cross before him. *Constantine* told him, that the *Arabs* and *Greeks* were near Kindred, and that it was pity they should make War one upon the other. *Amrou* answer'd, *That their Religion was different; upon which score it was lawful for Brothers to quarrel. However*, he said, *he desir'd to know which way the* * Koreishæ *came to be so near akin to the* Greeks? *Constantine* answer'd, (according to our Author) Was not our first Father *Adam*, then *Noah*, then *Abraham*, then *Esau*, then *Isaac*, which were both Sons of *Abraham* († the Blessing of God be upon them all.) Now one Brother ought not to do Injustice to another, and quarrel about that Division which was made for them by their Fore-fathers. *Thus far you say true*, answer'd *Amrou*, *That* ‖ Esau *begot* Isaac,

* *A noble Tribe amongst the* Arabs, *of which* Mahomet *was.*

† *That is an Expression us'd by the* Arab *Writers, whenever they mention any of the ancient Prophets.*

‖ *He makes strange Work of this Genealogy; but the* Arabick *may be read,* Esau Walado Hhac; *i. e.* Esau *is the Son of* Isaac; *not* wálada, *begot* Isaac. *But if, to help him out, we should read it so, we contradict him, for just before he reckons* Esau *before* Isaac.

Omar. Alwákidi.

ſaac, *and* Iſhmael *is* Eſau's *Uncle*; *and ſo we are the Sons of one Father, and* Noah *was our Father. Now* Noah *divided the Land into Parts when he was angry with his Son* Ham; *with which Diviſion they were not pleas'd, but quarrel'd about it: And this Land in which you are, is not yours properly, but belongs to the* Amalekites, *who had it before you. For* Noah *divided it among his three Sons,* Sem, Ham, *and* Japhet; *and gave his Son* Sem, Syria, *and what lies round it, from* Arabia Fœlix *and* Hadramut *to* Ammân; *and all the* Arabs *are the Off-ſpring of* Sem *and* Kathân, *and* Teſm, *and* Jodais, *and* Amalek *who is the Father of the* Amalekites. *To his Son* Ham *he gave the Weſt and Sea-ſhore; and he left* Japhet *between the Eaſt and Weſt;* * For the Earth is the Lord's, he gives it as an Inheritance to which of his Servants he pleaſes, and the latter End is to the Faithful. *We therefore,* adds *Amrou, deſire to have this ancient Diviſion reſtored, and make things equal after this manner. We will take what is in your Hands, and you ſhall take the Stones and Thorns, and barren Grounds which we poſſeſs, in lieu of theſe pleaſant Rivers, rich Paſtures, and ſtately Buildings.*

* Alcoran, *Ch.* VII. 125.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Constantine told him, that the Division was already made, and that it would be great Injustice in them not to be content with what had fallen to their Share. To which *Amrou* answer'd, *That they liked the Provision and manner of Living in* Syria, *so much better than their own course Fare at home, that they could never think of leaving the Country till they had conquer'd it, and could sit down at quiet under those shady Trees.* A little while after, he told those that were present, *That it would be no hard matter for them to continue in the Possession of what they had; for it was only changing their Religion, and the Business was done.* But both that and Payment of Tribute being refus'd, *Amrou* told 'em, *That there was nothing now left, but to determine it by the Sword. God knows,* said he, *that I have call'd you to the means by which you might save your selves, but you are rebellious, just as your Father* * Esau *was disobedient to his Mother: You reckon your selves akin to us, but we desire to have nothing to do with your Affinity, so long as you continue Infidels. You, besides, are the*

* *This the* Mahometans *have from the* Jews, *who believe most Europeans to be the off-spring of* Esau. Abarbanel *takes a great deal of Pains to prove it, and those* Jews *I have convers'd with are of the same Opinion.*

the Off-spring of Esau, *we of* * Ishmael: *And God chose our Prophet* Mahomet *from* Adam, *to the time that he came out of the Loins of his Father; and made him the best of the Sons of* Ishmael, (*and his Father* Ishmael *was the first that spoke Arabick*) *and he made the Tribe of* Kenánah *the best of the* Arabs; *and the Family of* Koreishæ *the best of* Kenánah; *and the Off-spring of* Hashem, *the best of the* Koreishæ; *and the best of the Sons of* Hashem, Abdo'l-mutaleb *the Prophet's Grandfather; and sent the Angel* Gabriel *down to him* [Mahomet] *with Inspiration.*

Omar Alwákidi.

* *Amongst other blind Stories which some of the Christian Writers have told of the* Saracens, *this is one*, viz. That they called themselves *Saracens*, because they would have the World believe that they were descended from *Sarah*, *Abraham's* lawful Wife; being asham'd of *Hagar* his Slave. *But the contrary is most evident, for they are neither asham'd of* Ishmael *nor* Hagar. *As for* Ishmael, *we have an Instance in this very Place: And for* Hagar, *the Reader may consult the* Jauharian, (*a famous* Arab *Lexicographer*) *who in the Word* Agara, *says*, Hagar *is the Mother of* Ishmael, *upon whom be Peace.*

The Conference ending without any Hopes of Accommodation, *Amrou* return'd to his Army, and both sides prepar'd for Battle, as soon as a convenient Opportunity should offer it self. One Day, there came forth out of *Constantine*'s Army, an Officer very richly dress'd, which made several of the *Saracens* desirous of fighting with him, in hopes of carrying off his Spoil. *Amrou* us'd to say, *That he would have no*

Omar. Alwákidi.

Man go to fight out of Greedineſs; for the Reward which was to be expected from God, was much better than the Spoil of the Enemy. He added, *That whoſoever was kill'd in Battle, loſt his Life either for the ſake of God, or elſe for ſome other End which he propos'd to himſelf. If the former, then God would be his Reward; but if he propos'd any temporal Thing, he was to expect nothing elſe, and that he had heard the Prophet ſpeak to the ſame purpoſe.* There came forth to this Officer a beardleſs Stripling, whoſe forward Zeal had prompted him on to leave *Arabia Fœlix*, and venture himſelf in the Wars. His Mother and Siſter had hitherto bore him Company in his Travels. This Youth us'd to ſay, *That it was not the Delicacies of* Syria, *that mov'd him to go thither, (becauſe the Delights of this World were fading, but thoſe of the other durable.) But that his Deſire was to fight for the Service of God, ſeeking the Favour of God and his Apoſtle. Becauſe he had heard one ſay, that the Martyrs ſhall be maintain'd with their Lord. How can that be*, anſwer'd his Siſter, *how can they be maintain'd when dead?* He anſwer'd, *That he had heard one that was acquainted with the Apoſtle of God, ſay,*

That

That the Spirits of the Martyrs shall be put into the Corps of green Birds that live in Paradise, which Birds shall eat the Fruits of Paradise, and drink the Rivers; this is the Maintenance which God has provided for them. He went out to fight with the Christian, after he had taken his last Leave of his Mother and Sister, and told them, that they should meet again at that † large Water which belongs to the Apostle of God in Paradise. The Christian Officer not only kill'd this Youth, but two or three more. At last *Serjabil Ebn Hasanah* came forth to him; but he was so emaciated with Watching and Fasting, that he was not able to stand before him. The Christian at last got him down, sat upon him, and was just going to cut his Throat; when on a sudden there came a Horseman out of the Grecian Army, who immediately kick'd the Christian off, and taking him at Advantage, struck his Head off. *Serjabil*, surpriz'd at this unexpected Deliverance, ask'd him, who he was, and from whence he came? *I am*, said he, *the unhappy* Tulèiha Ebn Chowáiled, *who pretended to prophesy like the Apostle of God; and lyed against God, saying, that Inspiration*

Omar. Alwákidi.

† Arab. Hhaud.

came

Omar. Alwákidi.

came down to me from Heaven. Serjabil answer'd, *O Brother! God's Mercy is infinite; and he that repents, and forsakes, and turns himself to God; he accepts of his Repentance, and forgives him what he has done; for the Prophet says*, Repentance takes away what was done before it. *And dost thou not know, O* Ebn Chowáiled, *that God said to our Prophet*, My Mercy is extended to every Creature that desires it? And said what he could to comfort him. Notwithstanding which, conscious to himself of the Grossness of his Crime, he could not find in his Heart to return to the Saracens; but being very much press'd to it by *Serjabil*, he at last told him in plain Terms, that he was afraid of *Caled*, (the Scourge of false Prophets, who broke them to Pieces at first, and kill'd *Moseilamah*, the Chief of them) *Serjabil* assur'd him, that *Caled* was not present, but staid at *Aleppo* with *Abu Obeidah*. At last, with much ado, he perswaded him to go with him to the Army. This *Tulèihah*, after *Moseilamah* was kill'd, withdrew himself out of *Arabia*, which would then have been soon too hot for him, and went and liv'd privately with a *Mahometan* in *Syria*,

ria, who maintain'd him for a while; till at last they being very familiar, and thoroughly acquainted, *Tuléiha* made himself known, and gave him an Account of his whole Story. His Landlord, as soon as he understood his Character, treated him with the utmost Aversion, and would entertain him no longer, but turn'd him out of Doors. Reduc'd to this Extremity, he was almost at his Wits End, and had some thoughts of taking Ship, and retiring into some Island: But *Constantine*'s Army coming into those Parts before he could put his Design in Execution, he chose rather to list himself under him, in hopes of finding an Opportunity of ingratiating himself with the *Muslemans*.

Omar. Alwákidi.

Being at last prevail'd upon to go back to the Saracens, he was very courteously receiv'd by *Amrou*; who not only gave him Thanks for his singular Service, but upon his expressing his Apprehensions of *Caled*, promis'd to secure him, and wrote a recommendatory Letter to *Omar*, acquainting him with the signal Proof which *Tuléiha* had given of his sincere and unfeigned Repentance. *Tuléiha* found the *Caliph* at *Mec-*

Omar. Alwákidi.

Meccah: Delivering the Letter, and withal telling him that he repented, *Omar* ask'd who he was? and had no sooner heard his Name mention'd, but he made off as fast as he could, saying, *Alas for thee! If I forgive thee, how shall I give an Account to God of the Murder of* Ocâsah? *Tuléiha* answer'd, Ocâsah *indeed suffer'd Martyrdom by my Hands, which I am very sorry for, and I hope that God will forgive me what I have done. Omar* desir'd to know what Proof he could give of his Sincerity; but having perus'd *Amrou*'s Letter, he was abundantly satisfy'd, and kept him with him till he return'd to *Medinah*, after which he employ'd him in his Wars against the *Persians*.

To return to *Constantine*'s Army. The Weather was very cold, and the Christians were quite dishearten'd, having been frequently beaten themselves, and discourag'd daily with the encreasing Power of the Saracens; so that a great many grew weary of the Service, and withdrew themselves from the Army. *Constantine*, having no Hopes of the Victory, and fearing lest the Saracens should seize *Cæsarea*, took an Opportunity in a tempestuous Night

Night to move off; and left his Camp to the Saracens. *Amrou* acquainting *Abu Obeidah* with all that had happen'd, receiv'd expreſs Orders to march directly to *Cæſarea*, where he promis'd to join him ſpeedily, in order to go againſt *Tripoli*, *Accah* and *Tyre*. In a little time after *Tripoli* was ſurpriz'd by the Treachery of *Youkinna*, who having gotten it on a ſudden, and without any Noiſe, there came thither a little while after, about fifty Ships with Proviſion and Arms from *Cyprus* and *Crete*, which were to go to *Conſtantine*. The Officers not knowing that *Tripoli* was fallen into the Hands of New Maſters, made no ſcruple of landing there, where they were courteouſly receiv'd by *Youkinna*, who proffer'd the utmoſt of his Service, and promis'd to go along with them. But immediately ſeiz'd both them and their Ships, and deliver'd the Town into the Hands of *Caled*, who was juſt come.

Omar. Alwákidi.

With theſe Ships the Traytor *Youkinna* goes to *Tyre*, where he tells the Inhabitants, that he had brought Arms and Proviſion for *Conſtantine*'s Army. Upon which he was kindly receiv'd, and he with nine hundred of his

Omar. Alwakidi.

his Men landed, and were entertain'd. But being betray'd by one of his own Men, he and his Crew were seiz'd and bound; receiving all the while such Treatment from the Soldiers, as their villainous Practices best deserv'd. In the mean time *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, being sent by *Abu Obeidah* from the Siege of *Cæsarea*, came within Sight of *Tyre*. The Governour perceiving this, caus'd *Youkínna* and his Men to be convey'd to the Castle, and there secur'd. Having done this, he prepares for the Defence of the Town; and perceiving that *Yezid* had but a small Number, (his Army not exceeding two Thousand) he resolv'd to make a Salley. In the mean time, the rest of the Inhabitants ran up to the Walls, to see the Engagement. Whilst they were fighting, *Youkínna* and his Men were set at Liberty by one *Basil*, of whom they give the following Account: *viz.* "That this *Basil* going one Day to pay "a Visit to *Bohéirah* the Monk, the "Caravan of the *Koreishæ* came by, "with which were *Cadijah*'s Camels, "which were look'd after by *Maho-* "*met*. He look'd towards the Cara- "van, in the Middle of which was "*Ma-*

Omar. Alwákidi.

" *Mahomet*, and there was a Cloud
" upon him to keep him from the Sun.
" Then the Caravan alighted, and
" *Mahomet* leaning against an old wi-
" ther'd Tree, it immediately brought
" forth Leaves. *Bohéirah* perceiving
" this, made an Entertainment for the
" Caravan, and invited them into the
" Monastery; *Mahomet* staying behind
" with the Camels. *Bohéirah* missing
" him, ask'd if there were all of them?
" Yes, they said, all but a little Boy
" they had left to look after their
" Things, and feed the Camels. *What*
" *is his Name*, ? says *Bohéirah*. They
" told him *Mohammed Ebn Abdo'llah*.
" *Bohéirah* ask'd, if his Father and Mo-
" ther were not dead, and if he was
" not brought up by his Grandfather
" and his Uncle. Being satisfy'd that
" it was so, he said, *O* Koreish! *Set a*
" *great Value upon him, for he is your*
" *Lord, and by him will your Power be*
" *great both in this World, and that to*
" *come; for he is your Ornament and Glo-*
" *ry*. They ask'd him how he knew
" that? *Because*, answer'd *Bohéirah*, *as*
" *you were coming, there was never a Tree*
" *nor Stone, nor Clod, but bow'd it self*
" *and worshipp'd God*. *Bohéirah* besides
" told

Omar. Alwakidi.

" told this *Basil*, that a great many " Prophets had lean'd against this " Tree, and sat under it, but it ne- " ver bore any Leaves before, since it " was wither'd. *And I heard him say,* " (says this same *Basil*) *This is the Pro-* " *phet, concerning whom* Isa (*Jesus*) *spake,* " *happy is he that believes in him, and fol-* " *lows him, and gives Credit to his Mis-* " *sion.* This *Basil*, after this Visit to *Bohéirah*, had gone to *Constantinople*, and other Parts of the *Greek* Emperor's Territories, and upon Information of the great Success of the Followers of this Prophet, was abundantly convinc'd of the Truth of his Mission. This enclin'd him, having so fair an Opportunity offer'd, to release *Youkínna* and his Men; who sending word to the Ships, the rest of their Forces landed and join'd them. In the mean time a Messenger in Disguise was sent to acquaint *Yezid* with what was done. As soon as he return'd, *Youkínna* was for falling upon the Townsmen upon the Wall; but *Basil* said, *Perhaps God might lead some of them into the right Way*; and perswaded him rather to place the Men so, as their coming down from the Wall might be prevented. This done,

Omar. Alwákidi.

done, they cry out *La Ilaha*, &c. The People perceiving themſelves betray'd, and the Priſoners at Liberty, were in the utmoſt Confuſion; none of them being able to ſtir a Step, or lift up an Hand. Thoſe in the Camp, hearing the Noiſe in the City, knew what was the Occaſion of it, and *Youkinna* open'd the Gates and let them in. Thoſe that were in the City, fled; ſome one way, ſome another; and were purſued by the *Saracens*, and put to the Sword. Thoſe upon the Wall, cry'd, *Quarter: Yezid* told them, That ſince they had not ſurrender'd, but the City was taken by Force, they were all Slaves. *However*, ſaid he, *we of our own accord ſet you free, upon Condition you pay Tribute; and if any of you has a mind to change his Religion, he ſhall fare as well as we do.* The greateſt part of them turn'd *Mahometans*. When *Conſtantine* heard of the Loſs of *Tripoli* and *Tyre*, his Heart fail'd him, and taking ſhipping with his Family and Wealth, he departed for *Conſtantinople*. All this while *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* lay before *Cæſarea*. In the Morning, when the People came to enquire after *Conſtantine*, and could hear no Tidings of him nor his

Omar. Alwákidi.

Family; they advis'd together, and with one Consent surrender'd the City to *Amrou*, paying down for their Security two hundred thousand Pieces of Silver, and delivering into his Hands whatsoever belong'd to *Constantine*, that he had not carry'd away with him. Thus was *Cæsarea* lost, in the Year of our Lord six hundred and thirty nine, being the seventeenth Year of the *Hegjrah*, and the fifth of *Omar*'s Reign; which answers to the 29th Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Heraclius*. Upon which, those other Places in *Syria*, which as yet held out, namely, *Ramlah*, *Accah*, *Joppe*, *Ascalon*, *Gaza*, *Sichem* [or *Nabolos*] and *Tiberias* surrender'd, and in a little time after, the People of *Beirout*, *Zidon*, *Jabalah*, and *Laodicea*, follow'd their Example; so that there remain'd nothing more to be done in *Syria*, but all was entirely subdu'd to the *Saracens*, who had not spent above six Years (from the time of their first Expedition in *Abubeker*'s Reign) in subjugating that large, wealthy and populous Country.

Hegjrah 17. A. D. 639.

THUS

Omar.

THUS have I given the Reader the beſt Account I was able, of the *Saracens* Conqueſt of *Syria*; following all along, as to Matter of Fact, my Author *Alwâkidi*, who has written the moſt particular Relation of that part of the Hiſtory that I have yet met with; or that is extant, to the beſt of my Knowledge. As for that little which remains, in order to the compleating the Lives of this and the ſucceeding *Caliph*, ſince the ſhort time of my Continuance at *Oxford* would not permit me to ſearch for, or excerpt any more Manuſcripts, I muſt be content to depend upon thoſe Authors which have been already publiſh'd; as * *Eutychius*, *Elmakîn*, and *Abu'lpharagius*: In which, tho' we have not ſo large and particular an Account as in the former Part of our Hiſtory; yet the Reader will find ſomething which ſhall ſtill contribute to the better Knowledge of that People, and increaſe his Admiration, at the wonderful Succeſs of their Arms, by which they arriv'd at that ſtupendious Greatneſs.

* Eutychius, Elmakîn, *and* Abu'lpharagius.

Syria being conquer'd, remain'd not long in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Perſons

Omar.

who had the chief Hand in ſubduing it; for in the eighteenth Year of the *Hegjrah*, which anſwers moſtly to the Year of our Lord 639, there was ſuch terrible Mortality both of Men and Beaſts, in *Syria*, particularly at *Emáus*, and the adjacent Territory, that the *Arabs* call'd that Year, * *The Year of Deſtruction*, by way of Diſtinction. The *Saracens* loſt by that Plague five and twenty Thouſand Men, among which were *Abu Obeidah*, (who was then 58 Years old) *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah*, formerly *Mahomet*'s Secretary, and *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, with ſeveral other *Saracens* of Note. † *Caled* ſurviv'd them about three Years, and then died; but the Place of his Burial (conſequently of his Death, for they did not uſe in thoſe Days to carry them far) is uncertain; ſome ſay at *Hems*; others at *Medinah*.

* Amo'l remádah.

† *Author of the Hiſtory of* Jeruſalem, *above cited.*

Amrou Ebno'l Aâs, having ſtaid as long in *Syria* as was neceſſary, purſuant to the *Caliph*'s Command, prepar'd for his Expedition into *Ægypt*. Whilſt he was upon his March, whether it proceeded from Envy, which always attends great Men, or whether *Othman Ebn Affâni* did not think him ſo pro-

Omar.

proper a Person for such a Service; certain it is, that *Omar* was perswaded by some that were about him, to recall him. That *Omar* himself entertain'd a good Opinion of him, and that he wrote to him rather to gratify the importunate Humour of his Friends, than out of any Dislike, seems plain from the Contents of the Letter. For whereas he could have commanded him positively to have return'd, he writes only thus: *If this Letter comes to you before you get into* Ægypt, *return. But if you be enter'd into* Ægypt, *when the Messenger comes to you, go on with the Blessing of God, and assure yourself, that if you want any Supplies, I will take Care to send them.* The Messenger overtook *Amrou* before he was out of *Syria*; who either suspecting, or having receiv'd secret Information of the Business, order'd him to wait upon him, till he should be at leisure to read the Letter. In the mean time he hastens his March, fully resolv'd not to open it till he came into the Confines of *Ægypt*. When he came to a Place call'd *Arish*, having assembled the Officers in his Tent, he call'd for the Messenger, and open'd the Letter with the same Gravity and For-

Omar.

mality as if he had been altogether ignorant of the Contents of it. Having read it, he told the Company what was in it, and enquir'd of them, whether the Place where they then were, belong'd to *Syria* or *Ægypt*. They anſwer'd, to *Ægypt*. *Then* ſaid *Amrou*, *we'll go on* From thence he went to *Pharmah*; which he took after a Month's Siege. From thence to *Miſrah*, (formerly *Memphis*) now *Cairo*, ſituate on the *Weſtern* Bank of the River *Nilus*, and which had been the Seat of the ancient *Ægyptian* Kings. This Place the *Greeks* had fortify'd, as being the moſt conſiderable (except *Alexandria*) in all that Kingdom. There was an ancient Caſtle there, of great Strength. The *Greeks* made a large Moat or Trench round about it, into which they threw great Quantities of Nailes, and Iron Spikes, to make it more difficult for the *Muſlemans* to paſs. *Amrou* with 4000 Men laid hard Siege to it; but when he had been there about ſeven Months, and could do nothing, he was forc'd to ſend to the *Caliph* for freſh Supplies; who, as ſoon as might be, recruited him with 4000 more. The Præfect or Lieutenant of *Miſrah*, that held it for the Emperor

Hera-

Omar.

Heraclius, was one *Mokaukas*, of the Sect of the *Jacobites*, and a mortal Enemy to the *Greeks*. He had no design at all to serve the Emperor, but to provide for himself; having behav'd himself so ill, that he durst not come into the Emperor's Presence. For when *Cosroës*, the *Persian*, had besieg'd *Constantinople*, *Mokaukas* perceiving the Emperor in Distress, and daily expecting his Ruin, thought he had a fair Opportunity offer'd of making his Fortune, and took all the Tribute of *Ægypt* into his own Hand, without giving Account to the Emperor of one Penny. From that time, being conscious to himself of his Deserts, he us'd all the means he could to prejudice and hinder the Emperor; so natural is it for Men to hate those whom they have injur'd. I shall not interrupt the smooth Course of History with examining how far this Account agrees with the *Greek* Historians; but only say, that my Author, *Eutychius*, was himself Patriarch of *Alexandria*: *Mokaukas* his chief Care was not to defend the Castle in good earnest, but to surrender it so as to procure good Terms for himself, and secure that vast Trea-

Omar.

ſure which he had ſo ill gotting, whatever became of all the *Greeks* and the Orthodox Chriſtians, which he mortally hated. There was in the River, between the beſieg'd Caſtle and the oppoſite Bank, a little Iſland: *Mokaukas* perſwades the *Greeks* to go with him out of the Caſtle into that Iſland: telling them, *That ſince* Amrou *had freſh Supplies ſent him, it would be impoſſible for them to defend the Caſtle much longer; and that if they went into that Iſland, the River would be a much better Security for them, than the Caſtle.* This he did on purpoſe to leave the Caſtle naked, that the *Saracens* might take it the more eaſily, and upon that account grant him the better Terms. At laſt he prevail'd, and they went out of the South-Gate, and going aboard ſome little Veſſels which they had there, they quickly landed in the Iſland, having left only a few *Greeks* to defend the Caſtle, for all the *Cophties* went out with *Mokaukas*. The *Nile* then began to overflow. Then *Mokaukas* ſent Meſſengers to *Amrou* with Orders to this Effect; "You "*Arabians* have invaded our Country, "and given us a great deal of Trouble "and Diſturbance, without any Pro-

"vocation

"vocation on our Side: And now assure your selves, that the *Nile* will quickly surround your Camp, and you will all fall into our Hands. However, send some body to treat with us, and let us know your Business, and what you demand; perhaps when we come to talk about the Matter, Things may be so settled, as both Parties may be made easy, and a Peace concluded. *Mokaukas* his Messengers had no sooner deliver'd their Errand, but *Amrou* dispach'd *Abadah Ebno'l Samet*, a Black, with Orders to go to *Mokaukas* with the Messengers, and tell him his Mind. *Abadah* coming into *Mokaukas* his Presence, he bad him sit down, and ask'd him what they (meaning the *Arabs*) meant, and what they would have. *Abadah* gave him the same Answer as the *Saracens* always us'd to do to all that ask'd them that Question; telling him, *That he had three Things to propose to him by the Command of* Amrou, *who had received the same Order from his Master* Omar *the Caliph*; viz. *That they should either change their Religion, and become Mahometans, and so have a Right and Title to all Privileges in common with'em;*

Omar.

Or

Or else pay perpetual Tribute Yearly, and so come under their Protection; Or else they must fight it out till the Sword decided the Controversy between them. These, as we have often observ'd before, were the Conditions which they proposed to all People where they came: The propagating their Religion being to them a just Occasion of making War upon any Nation whatsoever. To these hard Terms *Mokaukas* made Answer, *That as to the first of them they would never submit; but he and his Friends the* Cophties *would willingly pay Tribute.* The *Greeks* obstinately refus'd to become Tributaries, and were resolv'd to fight it out to the last; but *Mokaukas* cared not what became of them, so he might save himself and his Money. *Abadah* having finish'd this Business, return'd from the Castle to the Camp; and when he had acquainted *Amrou* with all that had pass'd, and that there were only a few *Greeks* in the Castle; the *Saracens* renew'd their Assault, and *Zobair* scaled the Walls, and cry'd out, *Allàh Acbar.* The *Greeks* perceiving that the Castle was lost, went into their Boats as fast as they could, and escap'd to the Island. The *Saracens*, possess'd

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of the Castle, kill'd and took Prisoners those few that remain'd. The *Greeks* now plainly understanding *Mokaukas* his Fraud, durst trust themselves no longer so near him, but going aboard their Ships, got to Shore, and march'd to *Keramo'l Shoraik*, a place between *Cairo* and *Alexandria*, and put themselves into as good a Posture of Defence as they could. In the mean time *Mokaukas* discours'd with *Amrou* about the Conditions of Peace; which were, *That all the* Cophties *which lived both above and below* Cairo *should pay yearly two Ducats, without any Difference or Distinction to be made between Rich or Poor; only Boys under sixteen Years of Age, decrepit old Men, and all Women, were exempted from paying any thing.* The Number of the *Cophties* which were then polled, was six Millions; according to which Account, the yearly Tribute of *Cair*, and the neighbouring Territory, amounted to twelve Millions of Ducats. *Mokaukas* begg'd of *Amrou*, that he might be always reckon'd among the *Cophties*, and tax'd as they were; declaring, that he desir'd to have nothing in common with the *Greeks*, for he was none of them, nor of their

Omar.

their Religion; but had only for a while diſſembled the Matter, for fear of his Life; and intreated him never to make Peace with the *Greeks*, but perſecute them to Death; and for his own part, he deſir'd that when he died, he might be buried in St. *John*'s Church in *Alexandria*. All this *Amrou* promis'd to perform, upon Condition that the *Cophties* ſhould be oblig'd to entertain any *Muſleman* whatſoever, who had occaſion to paſs through the Country, three Days *gratis*, and repair two Bridges which were broken, and prepare Places for the Entertainment of himſelf and his Army, and take care that the Country People ſhould bring in Proviſion to be ſold in the Camp, and clear the Way from *Cairo* to *Alexandria*, (which he was then going to beſiege) building ſuch Bridges as were neceſſary for the Army to march. Theſe Terms were readily accepted by the *Cophties*, who aſſiſted them with every thing they wanted. *Amrou* march'd till he came to *Keramo'l Shoraik*, where the *Greeks* that fled from *Cairo* were. They fought three days continually, but at laſt the *Greeks* were forc'd to give way. They had ſome other Battles before

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they came to *Alexandria*, in which the Saracens were always superior. Those *Greeks* which escap'd retir'd to *Alexandria*, where they made the best Preparation they could for a Siege.

Omar.

Amrou was not long after them, but quickly came up, and laid Siege to the City. However, the *Greeks* made a stout Resistance, and sallied out frequently, so that there was a great many killed on both sides. The Saracens at last made a vigorous Attack upon one of the Towers, and enter'd it; the *Greeks* all the while defending it to their utmost. They fought a considerable time in the Tower, till the Saracens at last were press'd upon so hard, that they were forc'd to retire. In this Attempt, *Amrou* the General, *Muslemah Ebno'l Mochalled*, and *Werdan*, *Amrou*'s Slave, were taken Prisoners. * Being brought before the Governour, he ask'd them what they meant by running about the Country after this manner, and disturbing their Neighbours? *Amrou* answer'd according to the usual Form, and told him, that they design'd to make them either Muslemans or Tributaries

* *This same Story is told with some Variation of Circumstances both by* Elmakîn *and* Alwákidi.

Omar.

butaries before they had done. But this resolute Answer of his had like to have cost him his Life; for the Governour having taken notice of his Behaviour, concluded that he was no ordinary Person, and spoke to some that stood near him to cut off his Head. *Werdan*, his Slave understood *Greek*; and as soon as he heard what the Governour said, took his Master *Amrou* by the Collar, and gave him a Box on the Ear; telling him, *That he was always putting himself forward, and prating, when 'twould better become him to hold his Tongue: That he was a mean contemptible Fellow, and that he would advise him to learn more Manners, and let his Betters speak before him.* By this time, *Muslemah Ebno'l Mochalled* had bethought himself, and told the Governour, *That their General had Thoughts of raising the Siege: That* Omar *the* Caliph *had wrote to him touching that Matter; and design'd to send an honourable Embassy, consisting of several worthy Persons, and Men of Note, to treat with him about Matters; and if he pleas'd to let them go, they would acquaint their General how courteously they had been us'd, and employ the utmost of their Endeavours to promote*

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Omar.

an Accommodation. He added, *That he did not in the least question, but when the* Caliph's *Embassadors had treated with him, things would be made very easy on both Sides, and the Siege very speedily raised.* Our Historian tells us, that this impolitick Governour observing how *Werdan* treated his Master, concluded him to have been as mean as *Werdan* represented him, and believ'd the Story that *Muslemah* had told him, concerning *Omar*'s sending some of the chief *Arabs* to treat with him. Wherefore, considering that it would be of greater Consequence to kill six or ten considerable Men, then three or four of the vulgar; he dismiss'd these, in hopes of catching the other. They were no sooner out of Danger, but they shouted out as loud as they could, *Allàh Acbar:* And when the *Greeks* upon the Wall perceiv'd those great Tokens of Joy, which were shewn in the Camp upon their Return, they knew very well, that they were not such Persons as the Governour had taken them for, and too late repented their letting them go. Quickly after, the Saracens renew'd their Assault, and so streightned the *Alexandrians*, that they were

not

Omar.

not able to hold out any longer. At last the City was taken, and the *Greeks* which were in it, were dispers'd; some considerable Parties of them going up further into the Country, others getting off to Sea; so that the Saracens enter'd, and *took Possession, after they had besieg'd it fourteen Months, and lost 23000 Men before it.

* Hegjrah 20. A. D. 640.

Amrou, to make all things secure, and prevent any Alarm or Disturbance which might follow; thought it proper to pursue those *Greeks*, which, escaping from the Siege of *Alexandria*, had gone further up into the Country; reasonably concluding, that so long as there was any Body of them in Arms, the Saracens could not enjoy their new Possessions in Peace and Security. He therefore marches out of *Alexandria* upon this Design, leaving but a few of his Saracens behind him in the Town, as apprehending no Danger on that side. During his Absence, the *Greeks* who had gone aboard their Ships at the taking the Town, and whose Return was not in the least fear'd or suspected; came on a sudden, and surpriz'd the Town, and kill'd all the Saracens that were in it. This quickly came to

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Amrou's Ear; upon which he returned to *Alexandria* with the greateſt Speed; where he found the Remnant of the *Greeks*, which came back from Sea, already poſſeſs'd of the Caſtle. They gave him a warm Reception, and fought bravely: At laſt, being over-power'd, as many of them as could get fairly off, were oblig'd to retire to their Ships, and try their Fortune at Sea once more, leaving *Amrou* and his *Saracens* in full and quiet Poſſeſſion. This done, *Amrou* acquaints the *Caliph* with his Succeſs; letting him know withal, that the *Muſlemans* were deſirous of plundering the City. *Omar* having receiv'd his Letter, gave him Thanks for his Service; but blam'd him for ſo much as once mentioning the plundering of ſo rich a City; and charg'd him ſtrictly, that he ſhould by no means ſuffer the Soldiers to make any Waſte, or ſpoil any thing in it; but that he ſhould carefully treaſure up what was valuable, to help him to defray Charges in time of War: And that the Tribute which was rais'd in that Part of the Country ſhould be laid up at *Alexandria*, to ſupply the Neceſſities of the *Muſlemans*.

Omar.

Omar.

Then they poll'd the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*; which being taken, all *Ægypt* follow'd the Fortune of its *Metropolis*, and the Inhabitants compounded for their Lives, Fortunes, and free Liberty of living in the Profeſſion of their own Religion, at the Expence of two Ducats a Year, without any Diſtinction; except any Man held any Land, Farm or Vineyard. For in ſuch Caſes, every one paid proportionably to the yearly Value of what he held. So that there aroſe a moſt prodigious Revenue to the *Caliph*. That after the *Saracens* were once arriv'd to this pitch, it is no wonder if they went further; for what would not ſuch a Revenue do in ſuch Hands? They knew very well how to husband their Money, being ſumptuous at that time in nothing but their Places of publick Worſhip. Their Diet was plain and ſimple: No Wine, nor any of thoſe Dainties, the Products of modern Luxury, which ſpoil the Stomach, and deſtroy Mens Conſtitutions, appear'd upon their Tables. Their chief Drink was Water; their Food conſiſted in a great meaſure in Milk, Rice, and the Fruits of the Earth.

The

Omar.

The *Arabians* had as yet apply'd themselves to no manner of Learning, nor the Study of any thing but Poetry in their own Language, which they understood very well, after their way, and valu'd themselves upon, long before *Mahomet*'s time, being altogether ignorant of the Sciences, and every Language but their own. *Amrou* however, tho' no Scholar, was a Man of quick Parts, and a good Capacity, and one that, when his Affairs would give him leave, was more delighted with the Conversation of learned Men, and Rational and Philosophical Discourses, than Men of his Education commonly us'd to be. * There was at that time in *Alexandria*, one *John*, sirnam'd, *The Grammarian*; a Man eminent for Learning; with whose Conversation *Amrou* was very well pleas'd, and would oftentimes take delight in hearing him discourse in several Sciences, and ask him Questions. This Man perceiving the great Respect shewn him by *Amrou*, ventur'd one Day to petition him for the Books in the *Alexandrian* Library; telling him, *That he perceiv'd he had taken an Account of all Things which he thought valuable in the City, and seal'd up all the*

* Abu'lpharagius.

Omar.

Repoſitories and Treaſuries, but had taken no notice of the Books. That, if they would have been any way uſeful to him, he would not have been ſo bold as to ask for them; but ſince they were not, he deſir'd he might have them. Amrou told him, *That he had deſir'd a thing which was altogether out of his Power to grant; and that he could by no means diſpoſe of the Books, without having firſt asked Leave of the* Caliph: *However,* he ſaid, *he'd write, and ſee what might be done in it.* This he accordingly perform'd, and having given a due Character of the Abilities of this learned Man, and acquainted him with his Petition; the *Caliph* return'd this Anſwer, *What is contained in theſe Books you mention, is either agreeable to what is written in the Book of God* (meaning the *Alcoran*) *or it is not: If it be, then the* Alcoran *is ſufficient without them: If otherwiſe, 'tis fit they ſhould be deſtroy'd. Amrou,* in Obedience to the *Caliph*'s Command, diſtributed the Books throughout all the City, amongſt thoſe that kept warm Baths (of which there was at that time in *Alexandria* no fewer than four Thouſand) to heat the Baths with. And notwithſtanding the great Havock

vock that muſt needs be made of 'em at this rate; the Number of Books which the Diligence of former Princes had collected was ſo great, that it was ſix Months before they were conſumed. A Loſs never to be made up to the learned World. This *John, the Grammarian*, was an *Alexandrian* by Birth, of the Sect of the *Jacobites*: Afterwards he deny'd the Trinity. Being admoniſh'd by the Biſhops of *Ægypt* to renounce his erroneous Opinions, he was, upon his Refuſal, excommunicated.

Amrou being now poſſeſs'd of *Ægypt*, began to look a little further towards the *Weſtern* part of *Africa*; and in a ſhort time made himſelf Maſter of all that Country which lies between *Barcah* and *Zeweilah*; the Inhabitants of *Barcah* bringing in the Tribute impos'd upon them punctually at the time prefix'd, without any Collectors going among them to gather it. While theſe Things were doing in *Ægypt*, there was a Dearth in *Arabia*; ſo that the Inhabitants of *Medinah* and the neighbouring Country, were reduc'd to a ſtarving Condition. Upon which *Omar* wrote to *Amrou*, and acquainting him

Omar.

with their Extremity, order'd him to supply the *Arabs* with Corn out of *Ægypt*. Which *Amrou* did in such Plenty, that the Train of Camels which were loaden with it, reach'd in a continu'd Line from *Ægypt* to *Medinah*; so that when the foremost of 'em were got to *Medinah*, the latter part of the Gang were still in the Bounds of *Ægypt*. But this way of conveying their Provision being too tedious and chargeable, the *Caliph* commanded *Amrou* to dig a Passage from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*, for the more speedy and easy Conveyance of their Provision to the *Arabian* Shore. Shortly after *Amrou* took *Tripoli*: And if we should consider the Greatness of his Success, it might seen wonderful, tho' there had been nothing done in any other Part. But their Victorious Arms made no less Progress *Eastward*, and the *Mahometan* Crescent began now to shed its malignant Influence upon as large and considerable Dominions, as had ever been flown over by the *Roman* Eagle. * About this time, *Aderbijân*, *Ainwerdah*, *Harrân*, *Roha*, *Rakkah*, *Nisibin*, *Ehwaz*, *Siwâs*, and *Chordsan*, were all brought under Subjection to the *Saracens*;

* Hegjrah 21. A. D. 64½.

cens; in which Conquests there were, without doubt, a great many noble Actions perform'd, and well worth the relating; but the particular History of that part of their Conquests not being yet come into my Hands, the Reader is desir'd to excuse me.

Omar.

About two Years after, *Omar* the *Caliph* was kill'd. The Account we have of it is this: There was one *Phirouz*, a *Persian*, of the Sect of the *Magi*, or *Persees*; who having, as being of a different Religion from the *Muslemans*, a Tribute of two Pieces of Silver impos'd upon him daily by his Master, made his Complaint to *Omar*, to have some part of it remitted. *Omar* told him, he did not think it at all unreasonable, considering he might well afford it out of what he earn'd. *Phirouz* was so provok'd with this Answer, that he did as good as threaten the *Caliph* to his Face; but he took little notice of it. Not longer after, he waited his Opportunity; and whilst *Omar* was saying the Morning Prayer in the Mosque, he stabb'd him thrice in the Belly with a Dager. * The *Saracens* in the Mosque immediately rushing upon him, he made a desperate Defence, and

* Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi. MS. Arab. Huntington Num. 554.

Omar.

and ſtabb'd 13 of them, of which 7 dy'd. At laſt, one that ſtood by, threw his Veſt over him, and ſeiz'd him: He perceiving himſelf caught, ſtabb'd himſelf. *Omar* lived three Days after it, and then died, in the Month *Du'lhagjah*, in the twenty third Year of the *Hegjrah*; (which Year began on the eighteenth Day of *November*, in the Year of our Lord 643.) after he had reign'd ten Years, ſix Months, and eight Days, and was 63 Years old; which is the ſame Age, at which, according to ſome Authors, *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*, and *Ayeſha*, *Mahomet*'s Wife died.

A. D. 643.

† *Hiſtory of the* Holy Land, MS. Arab. Poc. Num. 362.

He was of a Dark Complexion, very tall, and had a bald Head. As to his Behaviour in the Government, the *Arabick* Authors give him an extrordinary Character. His Abſtinence from the Things of this Life, Piety and Gravity of Behaviour, procur'd him more Reverence, than his Succeſſors could command by their Grandeur. His walking-Stick (ſays *Alwâkidi*) ſtruck more Terror into thoſe that were preſent, than another Man's Sword. His Diet was Barley-bread; his Sauce, Salt; and oftentimes by way of Abſtinence and Mortification, he eat his Bread with-

Alwâkidi.

without Salt. His Drink was Water. He was a conſtant Obſerver of religious Duties; and in thoſe ten Years he reign'd, went nine times on Pilgrimage to *Medinah*. His Adminiſtration of *Juſtice* was very impartial, his Ears being always open to the Complaints of the Meaneſt; nor could the Greatneſs of any Offender exempt him from Puniſhment. In his Deciſions he always kept punctually to the Senſe of the *Alcoran*, and the Traditions of *Mahomet*; in whoſe Time he gave a ſignal Proof of the Senſe he had of the Duty of Inferiors to their Governours, which was occaſion'd thus.

Omar.

* An obſtinate Muſleman had a Suit at Law with a *Jew* before *Mahomet*. The *Jew* being in the right, *Mahomet* pronounc'd Sentence againſt the *Muſleman*; who ſaid, *That he would not be ſo ſatisfy'd, unleſs* Omar, *who was then only a private Man, had the rehearing and examining the Cauſe*. The Plaintiff and Defendant went both together to *Omar*; whom they found at his own Door, and opening their Caſe, and acquainting him with the Deciſion of it, deſir'd him to examine it again. *Omar* going into his own Houſe, bad 'em ſtay

* D'Herbelot Bibliotheque Orientale.

Omar.

ſtay a Moment, and told them he would diſpatch their Buſineſs in a trice. Coming back, he brings his Cymiter along with him, and at one ſingle Stroke cuts off the *Muſleman*'s Head, that refus'd to be determin'd by *Mahomet*'s Deciſion; ſaying with a loud Voice, *See what they deſerve, who will not acquieſce in the Determination of their Judges.* It was upon this Occaſion, that *Mahomet*, inform'd of the Fact, gave him the Title or Sirname of *Farouk*; intimating, that *Omar* knew as well how to diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood, and Juſtice from Injuſtice, as he did to ſeparate the Head of that Knave from his Body.

The Conqueſts gain'd by the *Saracens* in his Reign were ſo conſiderable, that tho' they had never been extended any further, the Countries they had ſubdu'd would have made a very formidable Empire. He drove all the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* out of *Arabia*; ſubdu'd *Syria*, *Ægypt*, and other Territories in *Africa*; beſides the greateſt part of *Perſia*. And yet all this Greatneſs, which would have been too weighty for an ordinary Man to have born, eſpecially if we conſider, that it did not deſcend to 'em as an hereditary

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Omar.

Possession, for the ruling of which they had been prepar'd by a suitable Education, but was gotten all on a sudden by Men that had been acquainted with nothing Great before, had no Effect upon the *Caliph*; but he still retain'd his old Way of Living: Nor did the Increase of his Riches ever appear by his Retinue or Expences. He built a Wall about *Cufa*, and repaired, or rebuilt rather, the Temples of *Jerusalem* and *Medinah*. He was the first of the Saracens, that made Rolls to enter the Names of all that were in military Service, or that receiv'd any Stipend from the Publick. He first made use of the Date of the *Hegjrah*; concerning which the Reader may see more in the * *Life of* Mahomet, which I shall not here transcribe. He was the first of 'em that forbad that any Woman, who had ever born a Child, should be sold for a Slave. The Author of the *History of* Jerusalem, above mention'd, adds, *That if he had nothing else to recommend him besides his taking* Jerusalem, *and purging it from Idolatry, even that had been sufficient.*

* *Dr.* Prideaux's *Life of* Mahomet, *Pag.* 76.

He

Omar.

He never us'd to ſave any Mony in the Treaſury but divided it every *Friday* at Night amongſt his Men, according to their ſeveral Neceſſities. In which Particular, his Practice was preferable to *Abubeker*'s; for *Abubeker* us'd to proportion his Dividends to the Merit of the Perſons that were to receive it; but *Omar* had regard only to their Neceſſities; ſaying, *That the things of this World were given us by God for the Relief of our Neceſſities, and not for the Reward of Vertue; becauſe the proper Reward of that belong'd to another World.*

OTHMAN

OTHMAN EBN AFFAN, Third *Caliph* after *MAHOMET.*

Othman.

IN the Space of those three Days which *Omar* liv'd, after he had received his mortal Wound, his Friends came about him, solliciting him to make his Will, and name a Successor. To which he answer'd, That if *Salem* were alive, he should approve of none so well as him. Then they nam'd several to him, but he still found some Fault or other with all they propos'd: Some recommended *Ali*, upon the Account of his near Relation to *Mahomet*; besides his Valour and other Qualifications: But *Omar* did not think him serious enough for such a weighty Charge. Then *Othman Ebn Affân* being nam'd, *Omar* rejected him, as a Person too much enclin'd to favour his own Friends and Relations. When they

Hegjrah 23. *Which Year beginning on the 18th of* November, *in the year of our Lord* 643, *the greatest part of it answers to the Year* 644.

Othman.

they perceiv'd that it was impossible for 'em to pitch upon any Person, against whom he would not make an Exception; they had good Reason to think, that this proceeded from a Desire that his Son should succeed him. But his Son being mention'd to him, he answer'd, *That it was enough for one in a Family, to have an Account to give of so weighty a Charge, as the Governing the Muslemans was.* At last, when they could not perswade him to name a Successor, he appointed six Persons, to whom he allow'd three Days time to consult about the Matter, after his Decease. He order'd his Son to be present whilst they debated, but gave him no Liberty of Voting. The Six Commissioners were *Othman*, *Ali*, *Telhha*, *Azzobeir*, * *Abdo'rrahmân Ebn Auf*, and *Saed Ebn Abi Wakkâs*; All which had been the familiar Acquaintance and Companions of *Mahomet*. *Omar* being dead, they met to consult; and *Abdo'rrahmân* said, *That for his part he would willingly lay aside all Pretentions to it, provided they would agree to chuse one*

* Abu'lpharagius, *instead of this* Abdo'rrahmân *puts in* Abu Obeidah; *but I have chosen rather to follow* Eutychius *and* Elmakîn; *because there are more Authors than one, who say positively that* Abu Obeidah *died of the Plague in* Syria, *in the* 18*th Year of the* Hegjrah.

Othman.

one of those that were present. All of them consented to it but *Ali*, who thought himself injur'd, because he was not the immediate Successor of *Mahomet*. At last he consented too, after *Abdo'rrahmân* had sworn to him, that he would neither vote for, nor favour any Man whatsoever that should offer himself. *Abdo'rrahmân*, upon this, advises with the rest, who inclining to *Othman Ebn Affân*, he was chosen *Caliph*, and inaugurated * three Days after *Omar*'s Death. *Abu'lpharagius* says, that *Abu Obeidah* (whom he puts in the Room of *Abdo'rrahmân*) came to *Ali*, and ask'd him, *If he would take the Government upon him, upon Condition that he should be oblig'd to administer according to what was contain'd in* the Book of God, *The* Tradition *of his* Prophet, *and the Determination of two* Seniors. *Ali* answer'd, *That as for the* Book of God, *and the* Tradition *of his* Prophet, *he was contented; but he would not be oblig'd to be determin'd by the Constitutions of the Seniors.* The same Terms being offer'd to *Othman*, he embrac'd then without any Exception,

* *There is some Variety in the Accounts of the time of* Othman's *Inauguration. Some say there was but one Day left of the last Month of the 23d Year of the* Hegjrah. *Others say it was on the twentieth Day of the first Month* (Moharram) *of the twenty fourth Year.*

Othman.

tion, and was immediately chosen *Caliph*.

Being establish'd in the Government, he follows the Example of his Predecessors, and sends his Forces abroad, to enlarge his Dominions. In a short time *Maho'l Basora*, and what remain'd of the Borders of *Isphahân* and *Raya* was taken; so that the poor *Persian* King was now eaten up on all Sides, and had very little left him. The same Year that *Othman* was made *Caliph*, *Birah* and *Hamden* were taken, and *Moawiyah*, who was then Prefect of *Syria*, and afterwards *Caliph*, invaded the Territories of the *Grecian* Emperor, took a great many Towns, and wasted the Country.

We have observ'd before, that *Othman* was taken notice of, for being too much inclin'd to favour his Friends: Upon which Account *Omar* judg'd him unworthy to succeed him: Which Inclination now appear'd plainly, when he had got the Government into his Hands, and was in a Capacity of obliging them. For notwithstanding *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* had done the *Saracens* such singular Service, and added *Ægypt* to their Empire, yet *Othman* * depos'd him, and took away his Præfecture,

*A.H. 25. Octob. 27. A. D. 645.

or

Othman.

or Lieutenancy of *Ægypt* from him, without any just Reason at all that ever I could learn; but only because he had a mind to prefer *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*, his Foster-Brother, to a Place of such Dignity and Profit: Than which, there could scarce be a greater Imprudence; for *Amrou*, having been a considerable time in *Ægypt*, had made both the Persons and the Customs of the *Ægyptians* familiar to him, and was very well belov'd by 'em: Upon which Account, and his admirable Skill in military Affairs, he was, without doubt, the fittest Man for such a Charge, that the *Saracens* had. However, the Order of the *Caliph* must be obey'd; but it was not attended with very good Success. For *Constantine*, the *Grecian* Emperor, sent one *Manuel*, an Eunuch, with an Army, to retake *Alexandria*; which was accordingly perform'd by the Assistance of the *Greeks* in the City; who keeping secret Correspondence with the Emperor's Army, then at Sea, receiv'd them at their landing; and *Alexandria*, which *Amrou* had taken four Years before, was now once more in the Hands of the *Grecian* Emperor. And now it was evi-

Othman.

dently ſeen of what Uſe *Amrou* was in *Ægypt*. He was immediately reſtor'd to his former Dignity; for the *Ægyptians*, conſcious to themſelves of dealing treacherouſly with the Emperor, fearing, leſt falling into the Hands of the *Grecians*, they ſhould be puniſh'd according to their Deſerts, humbly petition'd the *Caliph*, that they might have their old General *Amrou* reſtor'd, both upon the account of his being well acquainted with the State of that Kingdom, and his Experience in War. This was no ſooner ask'd, than granted; the Exigency of Affairs indiſpenſably requiring it. *Amrou* being now in full Power, goes againſt *Alexandria* with his Army, in which were a great many *Cophties*, and among 'em the Traitor *Mokaukas*, whoſe Buſineſs 'twas to provide things neceſſary for the Army in their March. *Amrou* being come before *Alexandria*, found the *Greeks* in a good Poſture of Defence. They gave him Battle ſeveral Days together, and held out bravely. The Obſtinacy of their Defence provok'd him ſo, that he ſwore, *If God gave him the Victory, he would pull down the Walls of the Town, and make it as eaſy of Acceſs as a Bawdy-houſe.*

house. He was as good as his Word; for when he had taken the Town, which was not long after, he demolish'd all the Walls and Fortifications, and dismantled it quite. However, he dealt very mercifully with the Inhabitants, and sav'd as many of their Lives as he could. And built a *Mosque* in that very Place, where he stay'd the Fury of the *Saracens*, who were killing all they met; which *Mosque* was upon that Account call'd, * *The Mosque of Mercy*. *Manuel*, the *Grecian* Emperor's General, being quite routed, retir'd, with so many of his Men as he could carry off, to the Sea-shore: where weighing Anchor with all possible speed, they hoisted Sail, and return'd to *Constantinople*. From that time, that most flourishing City, once the *Metropolis* of *Egypt*, dwindl'd away and declin'd apace; so that there is little belonging to it that is worth taking notice of, only a good Haven, and some Merchants Store-houses.

Othman.

* Arab. Jâmi'orráhhmati.

† About this time, *Moawiyah* invaded *Cyprus*, and agreed with the Inhabitants upon this Condition, That he should share the Revenues of that Island with the *Grecian* Emperor.

† Hegjrah 27. Octob. 6. A.D. 647.

Othman.

So that the *Cyprians* were oblig'd to pay seven thousand and two hundred Ducats every Year to *Moawiyah*, and the like Sum to the Emperor. The *Mahometans* enjoy'd this Tribute near two Years, and were then dispossess'd by the Christians.

The same Year that *Moawiyah* agreed with the *Cyprians*, *Othman* sent *Abdo'llah Ebn Amir* and *Said Ebno'l Aâs* to invade *Chorâsan*; and, to encourage their Diligence, told 'em, *That which of them soever got thither first, should have the Prefecture of that Territory*. They took a great many strong Places, and so streighten'd *Yazdejerd*, the *Persian* King, that he was now so far from being able to meet the *Saracens* in open Field, that he was forc'd to shift about every way to save himself. And lest any Misfortune should be wanting to compleat his Ruin, he was at last betray'd by a treacherous Servant; an Unhappiness which frequently happens to Princes in Distress: For those who have any private Pique against them, take the Opportunity offer'd by their Misfortunes of being reveng'd: Others, hoping to ingratiate themselves with the conquering Party, stick to do nothing

thing that will oblige them, tho' to the utter Ruin of their former Masters.

For *Yazdejerd*, distress'd on every Side, call'd in *Tarchân*, the *Turk*, to his Assistance, who came accordingly with an Army. But their Stay was short; for *Yazdejerd*, upon a frivolous Account, affronted *Tarchân*, and sent him back again: Imprudently done in those desperate Circumstances. He had acted a much wiser Part, in putting up a great many little Affronts, rather than send away those Allies, which he could not subsist without. *Mahwa*, a Person of Note, who had a spite against his Master *Yazdejerd*, takes the Advantage of the *Turk's* Indignation, who highly resented the Affront, and sends to *Tarchân*, telling him, *That if he would come back and revenge the Affront, he would not be wanting to his Assistance.* Upon this *Tarchân* returns; *Yazdejerd* meets him with the best Preparation he could make; but was beaten. In his Flight, the Traytor *Mahwa* sets upon him, and quite destroys and disperses the shatter'd Remains of his Army which had escap'd. *Yazdejerd* got off himself, and coming to a Mill, proffer'd the Miller his Belt,

Othman.

his Bracelets, and his Ring: But this churlish Brute, not considering the Worth of the Things which were offer'd him, much less the Compassion which Humanity obliges us to shew to all in Distress, especially our Princes, told him, *That he earned four Pieces of Silver with his Mill every Day, and if he would give him so much Money, he would let it stand still upon his Account: If not, he would not.* Whilst they where debating this Matter, a Party of Horse, which were in search of him, happen'd to come to this Place, where they found him, and kill'd him. He was the last King of the *Persians*; and at the beginning of his Reign, the *Persian Æra*, or Date, which they use to this Day, begins; which is from him call'd *Yazdejerdica*. Thus the *Persian* Government was entirely destroy'd, and all the Territories belonging to it fell into the Hands of the *Caliphs*, in the Thirty first Year of the *Hegjrah*, which began on the Twenty third Day of *August*, in the Year of our Lord 651.

Hegjrah 31. Aug. 23. A. D. 651.

OTHMAN, tho' a religious Man in his Way, and of a good Disposition,

Othman.

on, was nevertheless very unfit for Government; for he did a great many very impolitick Things, which alienated the Minds of his Subjects from him, and gave Occasion to his Enemies both to open their Mouths and take up Arms against him. The first that we hear of who began to make a Stir, and talk publickly against the *Caliph*, was one *Abúdar Alacâdi*, who, in the 31st Year of the *Hegjrah*, openly rail'd on him, and made it his Business to defame him. *Othman* took no other notice of it, than only to forbid him coming into his Presence. Upon this, *Abudar* goes into *Syria*, where he continued detracting from the *Caliph*, and aggravating every Thing that might be objected against him. *Moawiyah* at that time Lieutenant of *Syria*, wrote to *Othman*; who thereupon sent for *Abúdar* to *Medinah*, * and put him

* Arab. Faráddaho'l Muréidah. *The Difficulty lies in the word* Muréidah: Erpenius *in his Translation of* Elmakîn *makes a proper Name of it; and so it must be read thus*; And sent him to *Almureidah. But I very much doubt it; for I find no such Place in the Dominions of the* Saracens. *I rather chuse to read it,* Mérbadah *from* Rábada, *which signifies,* to bind; *or* restrain; *from whence* Mérbadah *will signify the Place of Restraint*; i. e. *a Prison. This seems to me to be most agreeable to the Sense of the Author, and I take the Liberty to receed from the common Reading, the rather because* Erpenius *follow'd a very faulty Copy.*

Othman.

into Prison; in which he continu'd till his Death, which was but the Year after.

But this was only the Beginning of Troubles to the *Caliph*; for the *Saracens* grew every Day worse than other. Factious and uneasy Spirits, when once they begin to disturb any Government, never rest till they be either intirely crush'd themselves, or else obtain their Ends. The Murmuring encreas'd daily, and almost every Province in the Empire had something or other to complain of, peculiar to it self, besides those Grievances which were common to them all; so that in the * five and thirtieth Year of the *Hegjrah*, all Things were in a Flame. Every Man's Mouth was full of grievous Accusations against the *Caliph*, and Complaints of his Male-Administration. Those Things which they principally laid to his Charge, were; "That he had recall'd *Hhakem* "*Ebno'l Aâs* to *Medinah*, who had been "banish'd by the Prophet, and had "not been recall'd by either of his "Predecessors, *Abubeker* or *Omar*. That "he remov'd *Said Ebn Abi Wakkâs* "one of those six to whom *Omar* had "com-

* Hegjrah 35. *July* 10. 655.

Othman.

" committed the Election of a *Caliph*, " from his Prefecture, and put in another Man of ſcandalous Converſation, a Drinker of Wine, and notorious for other Debaucheries. That " he had been too laviſh of the Publick " Treaſure to his Friends, and had given *Abdo'llah* 400000 Ducats and " *Hhakem* 100000. That he had removʼd *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* from the " Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, and put *Saïd* " *Ebn Abi Sharehh* into his Place. This *Saïd* had been one of thoſe that had help'd to write the *Alcoran*, and afterwards apoſtatiz'd and left the Profeſſion of *Mahometaniſm*: Whereupon *Mahomet* reſolv'd to kill him when he took *Meccah*, which was in the eighth Year of the *Hegjrah*; but at *Othman*'s Intreaty, ſparʼd his Life, and was content to baniſh him. " That when he was " firſt made *Caliph*, he preſumʼd to ſit " upon the uppermoſt part of the *Suggeſtum* or Pulpit, where *Mahomet* " himſelf usʼd to ſit; whereas *Abubeker* always ſat one Step lower, and " *Omar* two. Theſe and a great many other things made the People murmur at him. At laſt, in a publick Aſſembly, he told them from the Pulpit,

" That

Othman

"That the Money which was in the "Treasury was sacred, and belong'd "to God; and that he [as being the "Successor of the Prophet] would "dispose of it to whomsoever he "thought fit, in spight of them; and "threaten'd and curs'd whosoever "should shew any Dislide of what he "had said. *Ammâr Ebn Yaser* declar'd that he dislik'd it. Upon which *Othman* commanded him to be beaten, and immediately some that stood by, fell upon him, and beat him till he swoon'd. This sort of Treatment so incens'd the *Arabs*, that they gather'd together, took Arms, and encamp'd within a League of *Medinah*. From their Camp they sent an insolent Message to the *Caliph* demanding of him, either to do that which was right and just, (*i. e.* what they thought so) or else resign the Government. The poor *Caliph* would now have done any thing with all his Heart, to have been at quiet. But this is observable, that the Risings of seditious Subjects are not to be laid by complying with their Demands, for the more is granted by the Prince in such Circumstances, the more they crave. He goes into the Pulpit which

was

was in the *Mosque* at *Medinah*, and there solemnly before the whole Congregation, calls God to witness, that he was heartily sorry for what was past, and that he repented. But all to no purpose; for by this time all the Provinces were in an uproar, and the Strength of the Rebels encreas'd daily. There were few Provinces but what sent some considerable Men, who met together at *Medinah*, to depose *Othman*. *Malec Aldshtar* brought 200 Men with him from *Cufa*; there came 150 from *Basora*; 600 from *Ægypt*, all upon this Occasion. The *Caliph* being now in great Perplexity, sent *Mogeirah Ebn Shabah* and *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs*, to treat with the Malecontents, and endeavour to perswade them to be determin'd by the *Alcoran* and the *Sunnèt*; that is, the Traditions of *Mahomet*; but they had very little Thanks for their Pains, for the Rebels us'd them scurvily. Then he sent *Ali* to them, (who ever since the Death of *Mahomet* had expected to be *Caliph*, and had a very considerable Party) him they receiv'd with more Reverence, and he bound himself to see that all that *Othman* promis'd them should be perform'd; and to make 'em the

Oth man.

Othman.

the more easy, *Othman* and *Ali* set both their Hands to a Paper, in which they promis'd to remove the Causes of their Grievances. Then the *Ægyptians* demanded to have *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd* remov'd from the Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, and *Mohammed*, the Son of *Abubeker*, put in his Room: Which *Othman* readily comply'd with, and sign'd his Commission. This Condescention of the *Caliph*, seemingly satisfy'd them pretty well; so that the Parties were dissolv'd, and every Man return'd to his own Country. The Storm seem'd to be blown over, and any Man would have thought that the *Caliph* had no reason to doubt of going to the Grave in Peace. But what will not Treachery do? There was nothing omitted by the *Caliph*'s Enemies, which might foment these Prejudices in the People, that they had already conceiv'd against him. *Ayesha*, *Mahomet*'s Widow, was his mortal Enemy. Certainly it would much better have become one that pretended to have been the Wife of an inspir'd Prophet, to have spent the Days of her Widow-hood in Devotion and good Works, rather than in doing Mischief, and embroiling the State.

But

Othman.

But ſhe was ſo prejudic'd in Favour of *Telha* the Son of *Zobeir*, whom ſhe would fain have rais'd to the Dignity of *Caliph*, that no Conſideration of Goodneſs or Decency could hinder her from deſigning the Death of *Othman*. Another of his greateſt Enemies was *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*'s Son, the ſame whom the *Ægyptians* had deſir'd for their Prefect. But none did him more harm than *Merwân Ebno'l Hhakem*, his Secretary, who may juſtly be look'd upon as the principal Cauſe of his Ruin, which was occaſion'd thus.

As the *Ægyptians* which were gather'd together to depoſe *Othman*, were upon their Journey homewards from *Medinah*, with *Mahomet*, the Son of *Abubeker*, their new Lieutenant; they met with a Meſſenger carrying Letters from the *Caliph* to *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*, at that time Lieutenant of *Ægypt*. Him upon Examination they detain'd and open'd his Letters: In which they found Orders given to *Abdo'llah* to this Effect. " As ſoon as *Mahomet*, the " Son of *Abubeker*, and *N.* and *N.&c.* " ſhall arrive in *Ægypt*, cut off their " Hands and Feet, and impale them. This Letter had *Othman*'s Seal and Su-

Othman. Superſcription; the whole Buſineſs being manag'd by the Villany of the Secretary *Merwân*, who contriv'd this Letter himſelf, (as he had done many others to the Caliph's great Diſadvantage) and order'd it ſo as it might fall into the Hands of the *Ægyptians*, on purpoſe to re-inflame the Difference which had, by the Care of *Ali*, and the Condeſcention of the *Caliph*, been in a great meaſure compos'd. 'Tis no hard matter to gueſs how *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*'s Son, and the *Ægyptians* that were with him, were affected with this Letter. They were ſtark mad; and no ill Language, no Revenge, was thought ſufficient for him, that deſign'd ſuch Cruelty to them. They immediately haſten back to *Medinah*, making large Speeches all the way, of the Treachery and Perfidiouſneſs of the *Caliph*, and how narrowly and accidentally they had eſcap'd ſo imminent a Danger. Such Stories as this ſeldom loſe any thing in the telling, eſpecially conſidering that the Wound was but juſt skinn'd over, and not heal'd; there being, beſides the Faction at Court, a great many diſaffected Perſons, who

Othman.

who ſpar'd not to ſay the worſt of the *Caliph*. The News of the *Ægyptians* returning, flies immediately all over the Country; and how, if they had not accidentally intercepted *Othman*'s Letter to *Abdo'llah*, they muſt have ſuffer'd the utmoſt Cruelty. Upon this, all People unanimouſly deteſted the Perſon of the Caliph: And thoſe who had come before from *Cufa* and *Baſora*, and had return'd upon the Accommodation that was made, were ſcarce got home, before alarm'd with this News, they came back again to aſſiſt the *Ægyptians* in the depoſing *Othman*. This Letter, they thought, excus'd whatſoever they did, and thoſe who did not believe that the *Caliph* wrote it, could make Uſe of that Pretence to vilify him, in order to gain their End. At laſt, they beſieg'd him in his own Houſe; He, in the mean time, proffering all manner of Satisfaction that could reaſonably be demanded, and declaring his Repentance for what he had done amiſs. But all in vain; they were reſolv'd to be reveng'd on him;

who

Othman.

who indeed had never intended them any Injury. When he perceived himſelf ſtreighten'd, he ſent to his Couſin *Ali*, and ask'd him; "If "he had a Deſire to ſee his Cou-"ſin murther'd, and his own King-"dom rent in Pieces? *Ali* anſwer-ed, *By no means:* And upon this ſent his two Sons, *Haſan* and *Hoſein*, to defend him, and keep the Gate, that he might not ſuffer any Violence. I am verily perſwaded, that *Ali* did not mean any Harm to the Caliph; but, whether it was becauſe he had a Proſpect of ſucceeding him, and upon that account was loath to diſo-blige the Muſlemans; who, he per-ceiv'd, were altogether ſet againſt *Othman*, or for what other Reaſon, It is plain, that he did not aſſiſt him with that Vigour and Earneſtneſs which might otherwiſe have been expected. 'Tis true, he ſent *Haſan* and *Hoſein*; but they, when the Be-ſiegers had ſtreighten'd the *Caliph* for want of Water, left him to their Mercy. Then *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*'s Son, and *Ammâr Ebn Yaſer*, with ſeve-ral others, enter'd the Houſe, where they

they found the *Caliph* with the *Alcoran* in his Lap. They immediately fell upon him, and one of them wounded him in the Throat with a Dart: A ſecond ſtabb'd him with his Sword. As ſoon as he fell, another ſat upon his Breaſt, and wounded him in nine Places. * Thus died *Othman*, the Third after *Mahomet*, when he was eighty two Years old, of which he had reigned near twelve. Authors differ concerning the time of his being beſieg'd in his Houſe; but it ſeems to have been about ſix Weeks. He lay unbury'd for three Days; at laſt he was remov'd, (by whoſe Order I find not) bloody as he was, and bury'd in the ſame Cloaths he was kill'd in, without ſo much as being waſh'd, or the leaſt Funeral Solemnity. A remarkable Inſtance of the Vanity of Human Greatneſs, and the Uncertainty of all worldly Felicity.

Othman.

* Hegjrah 35. *July* 10. 655.

As to his Perſon, he was very tall, of a good Countenance, dark Complexion, and a large Beard. His way of living was commendable enough for a *Saracen*. He was very conſtant and diligent in performing religious Exer-

 ciſes;

Othman.

cises; frequent in reading and meditating the *Alcoran*, and fasted very often. His Charity was very extensive, his Riches very great. Tho' he was very hardly us'd, yet it must not be deny'd, that he had given some Occasions for the People to think ill of him; which a politick Governour would have avoided: For he was so much enclin'd to prefer his own Family and Friends, that he scarce ever consider'd their Merit. From whence this Inconvenience must necessarily follow, that a great many Men would at this rate be put into Places of the greatest Trust, which were no way qualify'd for the Discharge of their Duty; and if they did any thing amiss, the *Caliph* who prefer'd them, was sure to bear a great share in the Reflections which were made. Besides, through the Treachery of that Villain *Merwân*, his Secretary, a great many ill things were laid to his Charge; which he had no hand in. For it was a common thing with him to set *Othman*'s Seal to Letters, which oftentimes contain'd very scandalous Commands to Governours of Provinces;

Othman.

ces; by which means the People were kept in an Averſion to him; and theſe Diſturbances being conſtantly fomented by his Enemies they never ceas'd, till at laſt they deprived him both of Government and Life.

THE TABLE.

A.

B.

By-

Coph-

D.

Du'lh-

E.

F.

G.

Greeks,

I.

K.

L.

L.

M.

Meccah,

N.

O.

P.

R.

R.

S.

T.

V.

W.

Y.

Z.

Z.

FINIS.